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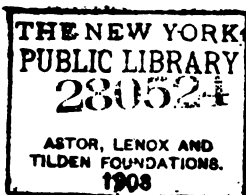
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED RELIGION
IN
FRANCE.

BY THE
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THE short interval of summer night which separated the eve of St. Bartholomew from its fearful dawn was employed in the disposition of troops at the most opportune posts of the capital: and it seems highly probable that during those few hours of guilty preparation various and perhaps contradictory orders were issued from the Louvre. It is little our intention however to renew the obscure and unsatisfactory inquiry which has so frequently been agitated, as to the secret councils which immediately foreran the impending Massacre. To what extent the king vacillated as

the appointed moment drew near; whether he actively gave instructions, or yielded no more than passive assent; how far the great crime, which it cannot reasonably be doubted had long occupied his thoughts, awakened terror and remorse as he approached its brink: whether he now repented him of the evil, and would have turned aside from it, had he not been goaded on by the threats, the persuasions, or the deceits of Catherine and his brother of Anjou; are questions, for the complete solution of which history must be searched in vain. The facts of the enormous wickedness which was committed are distinctly in view; but a thick darkness envelops the proportions of infamy duly assignable to its separate contrivers.

In like manner, we shall turn from the sickening episode of horror upon which we are reluctantly compelled to enter, as soon as its intimate and necessary connexion with our main story will permit us to escape. Its details have been often and amply given in many other narratives; the contemplation of them is eminently painful to any but a diseased appetite, thirsting for powerful excitement, and careless of the source, however foul, from which it may be derived. Nor should it be forgotten that too elaborate a portraiture of crime and suffering, while it evinces somewhat of moral distortion in the mind of the artist, betrays also an ignorance of the just rules of his art. If it be his object to create vivid interest, and keenly to arouse imagination, he may direct his fullest powers of execution to some prominent group; but he must sedulously refrain from weakening and perplexing his design by a confused multitude of detached figures.

Day had not yet broken, when all Paris was awakened by the clang of the tocsin of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, the signal at which it had been preconcerted that the troops should be on the alert. *Many of the Huguenots who lodged in the neigh-*

bourhood sprang from their beds : and hastening to the palace, inquired the cause of this unexpected and untimely sound ; and to what purpose the throng of armed men was directed, whom they saw moving rapidly and tumultuously, in many directions, by torch-light. They were at first carelessly answered that a court spectacle was in preparation, and their further questions were rebutted with insolence, which led to blows. Meantime the Duke of Guise, accompanied by his uncle D'Aumâle,* and the Bastard of Angoulême, advanced towards the Hotel of Coligny, where Cosseins, warned of their approach, had made fit dispositions for attack. The wounded admiral had been roused from a feverish sleep by the din of the alarm bell ; but confident in the recent friendly professions of the king, and in the fidelity of the royal guard by which he deemed himself to be protected,† he at first thought that some partial tumult had been raised by the Guisards, which would speedily be suppressed. As the noise increased and drew nearer, and as the report of firearms was heard in his own court-yard, he tardily and reluctantly admitted a suspicion of the truth ; and rising from his bed, notwithstanding the weakness which compelled him to lean for support against the wall of his chamber, he addressed himself to prayer, in company with his chaplain Merlin, and his few other attendants.‡ One of his servants,

* Claude de Lorraine Duke of Aumâle, third son of Claude Duke of Guise, grandfather of Henry.

† *Jussit cubicularium tectum ædium conscendere, ad inclamandos milites præsidarios a Rege datos, nihil minus scilicet cogitans quam ab illis vim sibi fieri. Hugonotis et Lutheranis Gallie quæ acciderint, p. 50, a Latin Dialogue published at Orange in 1573, five months after the Massacre ; and reprinted afterward as the first of the two Dialogues in the *Reveil-Matin aux Français*, published in 1574, both in Latin and French, under the assumed name of Eusebius Philadelphus ; and variously attributed to Beza, to Doneau, and to Barnaud. Le Long, who notices both these Works (the *Reveil-matin* at considerable length, 18152), does not appear to have been aware of their identity.*

‡ *Lecto consurgit, et, veste nocturnâ sumptâ, in pedes ad preces facendas erigitur, parieti innixus.* De Thou, iii. 7.

Labonne, summoned by a loud knocking at the outer gates, had already descended with the keys; and when Cosseins demanded entrance in the king's name, he opened them unhesitatingly and without apprehension. The daggers of the assassins, as they rushed in, prostrated him lifeless at the threshold; and the five Swiss, warned by his fate, ran into the house, closed the door, and raised a hasty barricade with such furniture as they found at hand; one of their number, however, fell beneath the shot which had excited the admiral's alarm, and the frail barrier which the others had constructed soon gave way under the blows of the assailants.

As their steps were heard ascending the staircase, Coligny, no longer doubtful of the event, turned, with an unaltered countenance, to his friends, and urgently warned them to consult their own safety. "For myself," he added, "escape is impossible; and, happily, I am well prepared for the death which I have long anticipated. Human aid can no longer extricate me: but *you* need not be involved in my calamity, neither must your wives hereafter curse me as the author of their widowhood." The roof afforded them hope of secure retreat; and over this they dispersed themselves, after having broken through the tiling.* The assassins, five in number, armed in shirts of mail, had now gained the door of the apartment. The first who entered was a German named Besme, nurtured from his childhood in the family of the Duke of Guise. Coligny, in his night-dress, calmly awaited their onset; and when asked by Besme, in a stern and threatening voice, whether he were the admiral, replied at once in the affirmative; pointed to his gray hairs as demanding

* The escape of the Chaplain Merlin was attended with very extraordinary circumstances; "he leapt out of a window and hid himself in a hayloft, where a hen came and lay an egg by him three days successively, with which he was sustained till the Lord opened a door for him *to get out of this bloody city.*" Quick *Synodicon*. l. 125.

reverence from youth; and added that, at the utmost, his life could be shortened but a little space. The murderer, unmoved by this calm and dauntless bearing, passed his sword through the veteran's body,* and after withdrawing it, inflicted a deep gash across his face; while his associates despatched him with repeated blows. The sole complaint which fell from Coligny's lips during his agony, was a regret that he should perish by the hand of a menial; and the constancy of his demeanour extorted a confession from one of those who assisted in the deed of blood (deeds with which he had long been well acquainted), that he had never before seen any one encounter a sudden and violent death with so much firmness.†

* *Quanquam Sarlabussius hanc sibi laudem, tribuit. Dialogus, p. 60.* Sarlabous was Governor of Havre. Besme, who married a bastard daughter of the Cardinal of Lorraine, was afterward taken prisoner by the Huguenots in Guyenne, and killed in an attempt to escape from confinement. Brantôme, *Discours* lxxix. tom. vi. p. 305. A much more detailed account of his closing adventures is given by Amiraault in his *Vie de Francois Seigneur de La Nouë*. He calls Besme N. Dranouitz, and he mentions the great and animated interest which the safety of the scoundrel (*ce schelme*) excited. The Rochellois proposed a voluntary subscription for his purchase, that they might put him to death under exquisite torments; but they were deterred by the fear of reprisals. The court, on the other hand, offered a large ransom for his deliverance. The Duke of Guise, and even the king, wrote several times to La Nouë in his behalf; and it seems probable that his escape was permitted, *qñ d'avoir lieu de le tuer*, p. 168. De Thou, lx. 19, writes to the same purpose, although more briefly.

The tone and epithets which, in compliance with the original authorities, we have employed concerning the admiral, perhaps imply a more advanced age than he had really attained: he was not more than fifty-six years old at the time of his murder.

† *Alii scribunt Colinio etiam in morte indignabundo hæc verba excidisse, "Satiùs si viri nec lixæ manu morerem" Atinius certè, unus ex percussoribus, ita ut scripsi memorabat, qui et hoc addebat, nunquam vidisse se hominem tam præsentì periculo tantâ constantiâ mortem pertulisse.* De Thou, lii. 7. A writer, who, under the name of Ernest Varamund, in 1573, printed twice at Edinburgh, in Latin, once at Basle, in French, and once at Striveling (Stirling) in Scotland, *A true and plain Report of the furious outrages in France, and the horrible and shameful slaughter of Chastillon the Admiral*, states that Atin, who made this report, was a "Picarde, a retainer and familiar of the Duke d'Aumal, one that a few years before sought to murder D'Anelot by treason." iv. See also *Mémoires de l'estat de France*, &c. v. 239.

Scarcely had the admiral ceased to breathe, when the voice of Guise was heard from below, impatiently demanding if all were over? "All is over," replied Besme, and he was answered by Guise, that the Sieur d'Angoulême must see in order to believe, and that the body must be thrown down for their inspection. The yet bleeding victim was accordingly forced through a window* into the court-yard; and D'Angoulême, after wiping the gore from its face, and thus satisfying his brutal curiosity, spurned the corpse with his foot;† acknowledged that it was indeed his enemy; and urging his followers to bring to a full end a course thus happily begun, in compliance with the king's command,‡ hastened onward to fresh carnage.

Meantime, at a new signal from the great bell of the Louvre itself, the work of general slaughter had commenced in every street near the palace inhabited by Huguenots. Besides the military, to whom the Duke of Guise had given orders, the municipal police, who had received similar instructions from

A most interesting account of the admiral's daily course of life since the peace, too long for transcription here, is given in Arthur Goulding's rare translation, *The Lyfe of the most Godly, Valiant, and Noble Captaine, and maintainer of the trew Christian Religion in Fraunce, Jasper Colignie Shatilion Admirall of Fraunce*. London, 1576.

* Capilupi introduces a horrible incident, *l'infelice non essendo ancor morto s'appiglio ad una parte della finestra. Lo Stratagema*, 34. So also Brantôme, *Discours lxxix.* tom. vi. p. 300, and De Serres, *Commentaires* iv. 33. But a yet more particular account has been given by Mr. Sharon Turner, in one of his Extracts from a German Narrative of the Massacre, by an eye-witness, recently found in the Episcopal Archives at Wiener Neustadt, in Austria. It is there stated, that the four Swiss who endeavoured to throw Coligny out of a window, cut him several times in the legs with their halberds during the struggle; that a French soldier discharged an arquebuse into his mouth, nevertheless, that "he still moved when he was tossed out." *Reign of Elizabeth*. ch. xxx. p. 320. The continuator of Sir James Mackintosh's *Hist. of England* mistakenly says, that Humes (Besme) "threw his (Coligny's) head from the window." Vol. iii. p. 224.

† De Thou, lii. 7. This ferocious act is attributed by others to the Duke of Guise. *Mém. de l'état*, i. 289. De Serres, *ut sup.*

‡ *Eia, commilitones, feliciter inchoata persequamur! ita Rex jubet. De Thou, ut sup.*

the provost of the merchants, were assembled at the Hotel de Ville; and, lest in the yet uncertain twilight, any fatal mistake might array the assassins against each other, every man destined for the bloody service wrapped a white scarf round his left arm, and placed a cross of the same colour in his hat, as badges which might ensure recognition from his comrades.* In order that there might not be any want of sufficient instruments, pains were taken to inflame the fury of the populace, by dark whispers of a conspiracy among the Reformed; by using the king's name as authority for their extermination; by offering pillage as a lure to the mercenary; and by exciting a belief among the timid, that a struggle had arisen in which the safety of every Roman Catholic would be compromised, if he suffered a single Huguenot to escape. Many of the leading courtiers were employed in disseminating these false rumours, and, among them, few were more active than the *Maréchal de Tavannes*. Of the equivocal fidelity of that officer, in an earlier stage of these religious contests, we have already had occasion to speak:† but he had now become a fiery zealot in the cause which he no longer doubted would predominate; and much, both of guilt in advising the massacre, and of unmeasured barbarity during its execution, are too credibly ascribed to him by contemporaries. "On that morning," says *Brantôme*, "he showed great cruelty; riding through the streets and calling to the rabble, 'Bleed! bleed! the doctors tell us that blood-letting is not less healthy in August than in May.'" One Huguenot, a gentleman of birth and valour, whose pen as well as his sword had been useful to the Duke of Anjou, after receiving six or seven wounds, clasped the knees of *Tavannes* and implored mercy. "He was the only one of the poor

* *De Thou*, lii. 2. *Davila*, 6. tom. i. p. 394.

† *Vol. i. p. 273.*

wretches whom he spared," continues the narrator ; and he leaves it in doubt, whether the motive which produced this solitary act of mercy were genuine compassion, or a feeling that it would derogate from his honour to kill a disabled gentleman prostrate at his feet.*

The Louvre itself was among the earliest scenes of carnage ; and many of those attendants whom the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been treacherously advised to assemble about their persons, as a security against any evil project of the Guises, having been surprised and disarmed in their chambers, were led, one by one,† into the palace-court, and put to death in cold blood under the very eye of the king.‡ Even the apartment of the royal bride was polluted with blood. The fears of Margaret, according to her own most vivid relation, had been excited, although not directed to any definite object, by the unusual emotion which her sister of Lorraine betrayed in parting from her on the preceding evening ; and by the anxiety with which Catherine suppressed some attempted communication. The night was afterward passed without repose ; for, according to the coarse and uncouth fashion of the times, her bed was surrounded by a large retinue of Huguenot gentlemen, thirty or forty in number, who were concerting with her husband an appeal against the Duke of Guise, which they resolved to offer to the throne on the following morning.— When Henry arose, at an early hour, to divert himself in the tennis-court till the king should be ready to give audience, his bride, overcome by fatigue and watching, fell into a short slumber, from which she

* Brantôme, *Discours* lxxii. 5. tom. vi. p. 477.

† *Ad uno, ad uno.* Davila v. tom. i. p. 295. "They were compelled to go out one after another by a little door, before which they found a great number of satellites, armed with halberds, who assassinated the Navarrese as they came out." *German Narrative*, cited by Mr. Sharon Turner. *Reign of Elizabeth*, ch xxx. p. 319.

‡ *De Serres*, iv. 31. *Mém. de l'estat*, i. 290. *Dialogue*, p. 61.

was awakened by loud cries of "Navarre! Navarre!" and a hurried knocking at the chamber-door. Her attendant, thinking that the king was returned, undrew the bolt; when a ghastly figure, bleeding from recent wounds, and closely pursued by four archers of the Royal Guard, rushed in and sought a hiding-place. Not knowing whether her own life or that of the stranger were in jeopardy, the Princess jumped from bed, and found herself immediately clasped in the arms of the terrified suppliant. Her shrieks summoned the Captain of the Guard, who, reeking as he was from the continued slaughter of other victims below, nevertheless found a brutal amusement in the alarm and embarrassment of the princess; and broke into a rude laugh, while he rebuked the archers for their intrusion. Margaret, having first changed her night-dress, besmeared with blood in the past struggle, entreated that she might be conveyed to her sister's apartment; and as she passed through the short corridor which separated their chambers, a second Huguenot, attempting flight in vain, was pierced close to her side by a halberd; while she fell almost senseless with terror into the arms of her escort.*

As the tumult rolled onward to more distant quarters of the city, scarcely a chance of escape remained to any of the devoted sect; and several of the persons most distinguished in our former narrative fell early sacrifices. The gallant and youthful Teligny, for awhile might indulge some hope of safety; he had gained the house-top, and although seen and recognised by many of the assassins ruthlessly engaged in the pursuit of others, so much was he beloved that no man's hand appeared raised for his destruction, till he was found and despatched by one unacquainted with his person.† The fate of

* *Mémoires de la Reine Marguerite.* Liv. I. 75.

† *De Thou.* lib. 7. *Dialogus*, p. 63.

La Rochefoucault, another, and not less illustrious nobleman, was attended with circumstances peculiarly affecting; and *his* was the sole instance in which Charles appears to have manifested any touch of compassion, any inclination to relent. One other life, indeed, he took special pains to preserve, but in so doing he was chiefly actuated by selfishness; and when he enjoined Ambrose Paré, his body-surgeon, not to quit the *garde-robe*, to which he had been summoned, till he received express permission, he well knew that his own health required the periodical assistance of that attendant's unrivalled skill.*—In the gay and brilliant society of La Rochefoucault, the King professed to find extraordinary attraction; and he granted him, although a Huguenot, unreserved access to his privacy. It was near midnight,† on the eve of the massacre, that this seeming favourite prepared to retire from the palace, after many hours spent in careless hilarity. More than once did the King urge his stay, that they might trifle, as he said, through the remainder of the night; or to obviate all difficulty, the count, if he so pleased, might be lodged, even in the royal chamber. But La Rochefoucault pleaded weariness and want of sleep; and, in spite of all opposition, took leave of his perfidious friend and sovereign in sportive words, which implied the freedom and familiarity of their intercourse. Even when he was afterward roused from sleep by the morning tumult at his door, no misgiving crossed his mind; he imagined that the king had followed him to inflict one of those practical jokes which suited the boisterous taste both of the times and of the individual; and hastily throwing on his clothes, he assured the masked band, which he did not scruple to admit, and among whom

* Brantôme. *Discours*. lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 204, and the note.

† *In multam noctem, nempe undecimam, et eo serius. Dialogus*, p. 82.

he supposed Charles to be included, that he was not taken at advantage, that they could not now feel privileged to flog him, for he was already up and dressed. The reply was a thrust of the sword by one of the disguised company, which prostrated the unsuspecting victim at the feet of his murderers.*

A considerable number of the Reformed, among whom were the Vidame de Chartres, and Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, more fortunate or more provident than their brethren, had taken up their abode southward from the river, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain; some from inability to procure lodgings nearer the court, others from discreet reluctance to trust themselves within its boundary. A thousand armed men had been allotted for the attack on this remoter body; and, but for the negligence and tardiness of the officers employed on the service, its destruction must have been certain. The detachment did not move till many hours after the appointed time; and, in the interval, an unknown person, who we are told was never afterward seen or recognised† (so perilous at that season was a work of mercy), crossing the river, warned Montgomery and his friends of the enormities which had already been perpetrated within the city. The first impulse of those brave and loyal gentlemen, when they received the intelligence, was to hasten to the

* The catastrophe of La Rochefoucault is related at considerable length, and with much interest in the *Memoires* of the Sieur de Mergely, a gentleman attached to his service, who overheard the king's last conversation, and his master's parting words, "*Adieu, mon petit maitre.*" These particulars, and Mergely's own great peril and escape, have been recently detailed in the narrative of the St. Bartholomew, given in the first of the two volumes, entitled, *Paris and its Historical Scenes*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; in which work many very striking anecdotes connected with that day of blood have been gathered with much diligence from numerous sources. Davila v. tom. i. p. 295, has shown himself altogether ignorant of La Rochefoucault's real history.

† *Quidam quem nemo postea nec vidit nec novit.* *Dialogus*, p. 65.

assistance of their king, who, they doubted not, was assailed by the Guisards, and to form themselves into a body-guard for the defence of his person. While they were debating upon this measure, the Duke of Guise, having learned that the attack upon the Fauxbourg St. Germain had not yet begun, and impatient of farther delay, led a hundred archers to the river, with the intention of immediately crossing; but the keys which he had brought with him to the gate were those of another barrier. While the mistake was being rectified, broad day arose; and the Huguenots, distinctly observing the preparations made for the transport of soldiers in boats, and assailed by the discharge of a piece of ordnance from the opposite bank, now awakened to a sense of their danger and of the inutility of resistance, betook themselves to a speedy flight, and gained sufficient time to elude the pursuit of Guise. It was on that occasion that Charles is said, by more than one contemporary authority, to have endeavoured to take a personal share in the massacre. "Moreover, I was told," says the author of the *Dialogue*, which we have often cited, "that the king himself, snatching up a fowling-piece, with one of his usual imprecations of God's name, cried out, 'We must shoot them, they are running away!'"* Brantôme writes to the same purpose, with the addition, that although Charles fired several shots from one of the windows of the Louvre, which overlooked the Fauxbourg St. Germain, they were of no avail, for the arquebuse would not carry far enough.† If an anecdote, related on modern authority, can be trusted, the fact is placed beyond all doubt. It is said, that the Maréchal de Tessé often used to state, that he had conversed in his youth with the very gentleman

* P. 66.

† *Discours*. lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 204.

of the Royal Guard who had loaded the king's carbine.*

The Duke of Guise returned from his useless pursuit to the city, where the Royal Guards, continuing to select as their own peculiar quarry all Huguenots of mark and nobility, abandoned others of less note as a prey to the rabble.† The first blood had been shed before dawn, and evening began to fall‡ before any restraint was imposed even upon the furious passions which had been unbridled among the populace.

Proclamation was then made by sound of trumpet, that all the citizens on pain of death should withdraw into their houses, and that no one should dare to appear in the streets except the military and the police. Murder and pillage became more regularly organized, but were by no means discontinued after the withdrawal of the mob.§ About two thousand Huguenots are believed to have been slain in Paris during the first day of massacre,|| and their bodies, after having been stripped, were left as they fell. The king, with his whole court, including Catherine and the ladies of her train, walked round the neighbourhood of the palace to glut their eyes with a close and minute view of the appalling spectacle; and among the many abominations of the time, which it is the painful task of the historian to record, none is more odious, more loathsome, and more disgusting, than the frontless immodesty, and stony hardness of heart, which degraded women

* Note h. h. *Henriade*, Chant. II. Voltaire, in his *Historical Writings*, for the most part sacrificed fact to antithesis: and none of his works of that class more abounds in petty inaccuracies than the *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France*, appended to the *Henriade*, in which he gives an account of the St. Bartholomew.

† *Peculiari hoc veluti penso illis attributo.* De Thou lii. 7.

‡ *Sub vesperam.* De Thou lii. 9. *Circiter quintam pomeridianum Dialogus*, p. 68.

§ Mezeray, tom. lii. p. 1285. Ed. fol. 1685.

|| De Thou, lii. 9.

of the loftiest birth and station during this most execrable promenade.*

At the close of this day's carnage, the spirit of Charles recoiled from the obloquy which he foresaw must accompany his unparalleled crime; and not less cunning than he had been cruel, he sought escape at the expense of his agents. He had already announced the attempt upon the admiral's life, in a circular despatch to his Provincial governors; and as he was probably innocent of participation in that foul act, he had represented its attendant circumstances with truth.† On the very night of the massacre, he again forwarded couriers to the chief towns throughout the kingdom, but the letters which he then issued were designed to propagate falsehood. The king declared to his lieutenants, that the members of the house of Guise and their adherents, having received confident assurance that the friends of the admiral designed to inflict severe reprisals for the outrage which he had suffered, rose during the past night, and between one party and the other there ensued a great and lamentable sedition. The Guisards overpowered the sentinels who had been provided for the security of the admiral's person, put him and many of his retinue to the sword; and massacred others in different parts of the city. So furious was this tumult, continued the king, that it was beyond his ability to restrain it as he desired, for all his guards and other disposable forces found enough employment at the time in maintaining the Louvre. He thanked God that it had subsided at the moment at which he was writing; and he believed that it had originated solely in the private feud so long subsisting between the two powerful houses which he named. Having always foreseen that some great evil would result from that

* De Thou, liii. 7. *Dialogus*, p. 63.

† *Monumens inédits de l'Hist. de France. Correspondance de Charles IX. et de Mandelot, Gouverneur de Lyon.* XIII. dated Aug. 22.

quarrel, he had done all in his power, he said, as every one must acknowledge, to terminate it amicably. He more particularly wished it to be understood, that his late Edict of Pacification had not in any way been infringed, and he still hoped to maintain it as inviolably as heretofore. In order, therefore, to prevent any risings and massacres which might occur in other parts of the kingdom, in consequence of the movement at Paris, he commissioned his governors to assemble all the forces at their command, and to take especial measures for the preservation of peace. A short postscript, annexed to many of these despatches, enjoined the officer to whom it was addressed to place implicit confidence in the *verbal* communication which the bearer was instructed to deliver.* To the nature of that mysterious communication, we shall find some key afforded by subsequent events.

On the following morning, the enormities of the preceding day were renewed; and although the harvest of slaughter had been plentifully gathered already, care was taken to glean whatever few scattered ears might remain behind.† The priests heightened the popular frenzy by the announcement of a pseudo miracle; and, in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, a white thorn was exhibited, which had put forth unseasonable blossoms, either produced by a caprice of nature, or purposely stimulated by some chemical preparation.‡ Whether fraud or

* The Despatch to Mandelot, the contents of which we have abridged above (*Corresp.* xiv.), is accompanied by this Postscript. Dr. Lingard has pointed to the *Mem. de l'état*, i. 405. to show that it was not annexed to all the Circular Letters.

† *Quasi messe affatim et plenis manipulis jactâ, postridie spicas quæ remanserant sparsim colligebant.* *Dialogus*, p. 70.

‡ *Sive sponte, quod aliquando contingit cum naturâ deficiente in eo planta est ut penitus exarescat; sive aquâ tepidâ ab impostoribus infusâ.* De Thou, lii. 10. In the abusive notes on De Thou, published by the Jesuit Michault, under the assumed name of Joh. Baptista Gallus, this passage has called down especial vituperation. The latter conjecture is dismissed summarily, as altogether malicious; and the former is said to proceed from a spirit so entirely engrossed by secondary causes,

accident occasioned the extraordinary appearance it was one among other phenomena which the persecutors adroitly turned to advantage. The unusual serenity of the weather was adduced by some fanatics as a sure token of the approbation of Heaven.* "This month," exclaimed another preacher, "is truly named August, how *august* moreover was yesterday!"† But the thorn was on all hands acknowledged to be an incontestible evidence of Divine favour. The citizens were invited by beat of drum to come and behold the prodigy, which was expounded to be symbolical of the revival of the glory of France and of the resurrection of her former greatness, in consequence of the downfall of Protestantism.‡

It is worthy of remark, that although the Huguenots rejected the miracle, they nevertheless thought it worth while to propose an opposite allegorical interpretation of the fact. The blossoms, they said, so unusual at that time of year, betokened that the true Church, stricken as she now might be, should hereafter be renovated and flourish: a position which they confirmed by applying the precedent of the Burning Bush; the connection of which, however, with their reasoning, is by no means obvious. It was added also, in an egregious spirit of trifling, that the very place in which the wonder had oc-

as to be unable to recognise the immediate operation of the Great First Cause. Thuanus *Opera*, vii. 47. The *Dialogus*, however, shows De Thou's suspicion to have been well founded; *quod a vetulo quodam Franciscano excogitatum postea compertum est.* p. 70.

* De Thou, lii. 10.

† *Jacobus Carpentarius illam lucem, ad mensem alludens, Augustam scripto edito deprædicavit. Id. ibid.* On this passage Michault remarks, that the writer, *Maluisset, sat scio, et nefastam dici et nigerrimo notari, quod ad VIRTUS CATHOLICORUM de Hæreticorum perfidia triumphavit. Ut sup.* These notes were first printed at Ingolstadt, in 1614: two-and-thirty years, therefore, had elapsed since the Massacre, when a Jesuit promulgated this eulogy, as the calm result of meditation upon it in the silence of his study.

‡ Capilupi notices it, *come miracolo di Dio, e segno dell' ira sua piacata e promessa di felicità a quel Regno. Lo Stratagemma*, p. 81.

curred proved that it was intended much more to support *Innocence* than to sanction an act of butchery.*

Hitherto, Charles had persisted in his original declaration, that the Massacre had been projected by the Guises without his knowledge, and perpetrated by them against his will. It is not possible to ascertain the secret causes which occasioned his sudden change; but it may be conjectured that the Princes of Lorraine were not less reluctant than himself to bear the whole weight of criminality, and that they were far too powerful to remonstrate without success. An argument also, not unlikely to influence a king jealous of his authority, has been attributed to Catherine de Medicis and to the Duke of Anjou; and they are said to have urged upon Charles, that he must be degraded in the estimation of foreign courts, if he continued to allow that he had been impotent to restrain any of his subjects, however exalted might be their rank, from engaging in an enterprise which he disapproved; and that there was much less peril in at once avowing that he himself was the author of an act which, bloody as it might be, sufficiently implied the possession of great power, than in confessing that he was too weak to prevent its commission by others. The king, says De Thou, dreading contempt far more than hatred, yielded to these representations, and consented to declare that the massacre had been perpetrated by his command.†

On the Tuesday morning, therefore, after celebrating mass with great solemnity, the king held a bed of justice, and recounted to his assembled Parliament the numberless injuries which he had suffered, during his minority, from Coligny and the self-styled Reformed; all of which, out of regard to the public weal, he had overlooked at the last peace.

* *De Thou*, lii. 10.

† *Id.* lii. 11.

Nevertheless, that the admiral, in order that nothing might be wanting to complete his wickedness, had plotted the death of himself, of the queen his mother, and of the princes his brothers; nay, even of the King of Navarre, who professed the Huguenot Religion. The object of these atrocious crimes was, in the first instance, to place the Prince of Condé on the throne; and afterward by *his* removal also, which would dry up the entire fountain of the royal blood, to make way for the usurpation of the crown by Coligny himself. This great evil, the king affirmed, was to be counteracted only by the admission of another and an opposite evil; and, notwithstanding his reluctance to shed blood, he had felt justified in hazarding an extreme remedy to cure an extreme danger. He now therefore wished all men to know, that whatever punishments had been inflicted were fully authorized by his royal command.

If the proceedings which ensued had not emanated from a grave, deliberative body, they might be received as a bitter satire upon this conduct of the king. The first President, in a time-serving reply,* praised the wisdom which Charles had manifested in thus suppressing a most dangerous conspiracy; and congratulated him upon his intimate practical acquaintance with that sound maxim of Louis XI., *qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*. The assembly demanded permission to register the king's declaration "as a memorial of the transaction;"† and it was agreed that heralds should proclaim through the streets of the capital, that murder and pillage were henceforward prohibited. Notwithstanding this proclamation, as the royal procession returned to the Louvre, a noble Huguenot was massacred close to the king's person; and Charles, on learning the cause of the sudden tumult, turned round and

* *Tempori accommodata orationi. Id. ibid.*

† *Ad conservandam rei memoriam. Id. ibid.*

exclaimed, "Would to heaven that he were the last of them remaining!" His wish was indeed not far from gratification. "There were few Huguenots killed in Paris on that and the following days," says the writer from whom we derive the above anecdote, "because there were few who survived."*

How little credit was attached by contemporaries to this pretext of a conspiracy on the part of the admiral, may be readily determined by comparing the language employed by two only out of many writers of those times; men who, however widely differing in character, were alike strongly attached to the interests of the court. The measured caution with which Davila expresses himself, perhaps speaks his conviction of Charles's falsehood yet more loudly than the garrulous reserve (if we may so term it) of Montluc. "The king," says the former, "*most earnestly pressed a belief*† upon the Parliament, that the accident was unforeseen and not premeditated; occasioned by chance and produced by-necessity, not matured by long and sagacious fore thought." If the Parliament had not adopted a different opinion, whence arose the need for this very earnest persuasion? If Davila, an élève of Catherine, had believed the king's statement, is it likely that he would have forbore from giving his testimony to its veracity? Montluc, with whom our readers are already well acquainted,‡ is far more open. The queen, he says, wrote to tell him of the discovery of a great conspiracy, which had occasioned all that afterward happened;§ but, for his part, he believed that Charles had never forgotten

* *Ed die et cæteris sequentibus pauci Hugonoti Lutetiæ interfecti sunt, nempe quia pauci supererant.* *Dialogus*, p. 76.

† *Studiosamente si sforzò a persuadere.* Davila, l. v. tom. i. p. 298.

‡ Vol. i. p. 237, &c.

§ *Je scay bien ce que j'en creus. Il fait mauvais offenser son maistre. Le Roy n'oublia jamais quand M. l'Admiral luy fit faire lai traitte de Meaux a Paris plus viste que la pas. Nous peraons l'entendement on bon du coup, et ne songrons que les Roys ont eneor plus de cœur que*

the admiral's concern in the affair at Meaux; for princes have a far better memory for offences than for services. "I know what I believe; it is but bad policy to offend one's master."

The first President of the Parliament who thus bowed himself to circumstances, was the father of the intrepid, upright, and uncompromising historian De Thou; and no small proof of the scrupulous veracity of that great writer's narrative may be derived from his having thus honestly recorded a weakness which he must have condemned, and must have wished should be unremembered. Had it not been for his statement, it would indeed have been altogether forgotten; for every document connected with the St. Bartholomew massacre, even the very registration of which De Thou speaks above, has been carefully withdrawn from the archives of the Parliament of Paris.* These efforts, however, to obliterate the records of crime, and to escape the execrations of posterity, have been altogether fruitless. Parchments may have disappeared and muniments may have been destroyed, but an ever-during memorial of the main features of the transaction must, alas! continue to exist while any faculty of remembrance belongs to mankind.

Three days had now elapsed since the murder of the admiral, and during the whole of that period, his body had been subjected to the vilest insults of the infuriated rabble. It was at first tossed rudely into a stable; then, after having been disfigured by savage and unseemly mutilation, the head severed from the trunk and the extremities torn from the limbs, it was dragged through the streets to the banks of the Seine.† But so early a repose beneath the

nous : et qu'ils oublient plutost les services que les offences. Montluc. *Commentaires* liv. vii. tom. ii. p. 558. Ed. 1661.

* Allen's *Reply to Lingard's Vindication*, p. 76.

† *Per vicos ad Sequanæ ripam tractum, quod olum ominosâ voce, quæmois nihil tale cogitans, præagierat*, De Thou, lii. 7. For the evil omen see vol. i. p. 376, and De Thou, *De vitâ suâ*, lib. i. tom. yil. p.

waters would have disappointed the fierce cravings of a malice which pursued its victim even beyond death. Till the morning of which we are now speaking, the corpse continued to be trailed through the city; and when the shapeless mass was at length suspended in chains by one leg from the gibbet of Montfaucon, a slow fire at the same time was kindled beneath; in order (to use the forcible language of De Thou) that every element in turn might contribute some share to its destruction.* De Thou himself witnessed this most ignominious exposure; and he called to mind, with bitter reflections on human instability, the scene of pomp and splendour in which he had recently beheld the veteran warrior engaged, and the triumphant anticipations which he had then heard him express respecting the imagined war in Belgium.† The king also visited these mangled remains; and Brantôme has attributed to him on that occasion, a speech originating with Vitellius. When some attendant turned aside to escape the offensive smell, Charles observed that "the body of a dead enemy always savours sweetly."‡ The anecdote may not be authentic; but even if it is not so, it sufficiently evinces the contemporary estimate of Charles's cold-blooded ferocity.

10. Even these cowardly outrages on the dead have found grace in the eyes of Michault. *Nam quod aliud manupretium debebatur homini sacrorum, si quisquam alius, osori!* is his comment on the above passage from De Thou, *ibid.* p. 47.

* *Ut per omnia elementa veluti torqueretur, nam in terrâ occisus, aquis mersus, igni subjectus, postremo in aëre pependit. Ibid.*

† Vol. i. p. 380. De Thou, *De vitâ suâ*, lib. i. tom. vii. p. 11. De Thou, while going to mass on the day of St. Bartholomew, had seen the bodies of two Huguenots with whom he was acquainted, dragged to the river; and shocked and terrified by the spectacle, he kept within doors during the remainder of the massacre. Afterward, on visiting his brother near the Gate of Montmartre, he was taken to some rising ground, from which he had a view of the gibbet at Montfaucon.

‡ *Discours* lxxviii. tom. vii. p. 206. Similar words are recorded of one of the tyrants of Arabian History. When the Khalif Almamom Abn Ali, in the beginning of the 14th century had usurped the disputed

It is stated that Coligny's head was carried in the first instance to the Louvre; and a doubt appears to have existed at the time whether it was conveyed afterward to Madrid or to Rome.* The recently published correspondence between Charles and the Governor of Lyons decides the question: "I have received the letter which your majesty has been pleased to write," are the words of a despatch from Mandelot, dated the 5th of September, "in which your majesty informs me that you have been advised of the departure of a messenger conveying the head of the late admiral to Rome; and in which also your majesty enjoins me to note the arrival of the messenger, to arrest him, and to take from him the head. I have accordingly adopted due precautions, that in case any such person should come, your majesty's order shall be executed. No person has lately passed through this city on his way to Rome, excepting a gentleman named Paul, belonging to the Duke of Guise, who quitted Lyons only four hours before the arrival of your majesty's despatch."† Who can doubt that this "gentleman belonging to the Duke of Guise," was the bearer of the most welcome offering which could be tendered to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was at that time in Rome? The pious care of Francis Montmorency, whom either his superior good-fortune or sa-

crown of Morocco, he suspended the heads of his enemies whom he had put to death, round the walls of his capital; and answered the remark concerning their evil odour, by a speech which Conde has given as follows. *Los espiritus de esas cabazas guardan esta ciudad, y el olor de ellas es aromatico y soave para los que me aman y son leales, y pestilente y mortal para los que me aborrecen; asi que no os de cuidado, que yon se bien lo que conviene à la salud publica.* *Hist. de la Dominacion de los Arabes en Espana*, tom. ii. cap. 57. p. 438.

* Brantôme, *Discours*. lxxix. tom. vi. p. 301.

† *Correspondance*, xviii. p. 57. De Thou positively states *capite amputato quod Romam usque portatum est*. lii. 7. The Editor of Mandelot's Correspondence mistakenly represents De Thou as having spoken with doubt on the subject. Preface xii. Tavannes has mentioned the fact in equally positive terms. *Sa tête envoyée à Rome. Mém.* p. 419. Ed. Fol. *cine loco aut anno*.

gacity had preserved amid the general destruction of his friends,* at length stealthily detached from the gallows what remained of the admiral's body. For a while he dared not commit it to consecrated ground; and it was deposited in a leaden coffin, and kept in a secret chamber at Chantilly, till the arrival of less disturbed times permitted its transfer to Chastillon, and its interment with fitting solemnity in the ancestral vault of the Colignys.†

While the steam of innocent blood yet mounted to Heaven from almost every dwelling in Paris, the hands by which it had been so profusely shed were raised in mockery of devotion; and on the Thursday‡ of this week of horrors, the king attended a solemn thanksgiving for the suppression of the fabricated conspiracy. At the same time he issued fresh circulars to the provinces, testifying in the outset his determination to observe the conditions of the last peace, and yet in direct contradiction to that edict, enjoining the Huguenots to abstain from all public or private assemblies; in failure whereof the governors were instructed "to fall upon them and to cut them in pieces as enemies of the crown."‡

* Vol. i. p. 229.

† De Thou, *De Vita sua*, lib. i. tom. vii. p. 11. Davila, lib. v. tom. i. p. 296.

‡ Capilupis is mistaken as to the day of thanksgiving, which both De Thou, lib. 10, and the writer of the *Dialogus*, fix on Thursday the 28th. But the Italian writer gives the reasons which occasioned this celebration with a simplicity which, except for the horrible recollections awakened by it, would be altogether ludicrous. *Il Rè in Parigi veggendo tutta la città sottosopra, et tinta di sangue, et piena d'horribili spettacoli di morti, estinta già la maggior parte de gli huomini di maggiore autorità appresso di loro, il Martedì mattina, due giorni dopo principiato la strage, alle 26 d' Agostò, andò alla Chiesa a render le debite gratie a Dio di tanta prosperità.* Lo *Stratagema*, p. 42.

§ *Autrement là où ilz ne se voudroient retirer après le dict advertissement que vous leur en auez fait, vous leur courrez et ferez courir sus, et les taillerez en pièces comme ennemys de ma Couronne.* Correspondance, xvii. p. 53. Words to a similar effect are employed in a larger draft of Instructions to the Duke of Guise, as Governor of Champagne, for his conduct to the Huguenots in that province. For a transcript of the original of that very interesting document, dated Aug. 30, 1572, and bearing the sign manual of Charles IX., now preserved in the Library of

"Moreover," continues this despatch, "whatever verbal instructions I may have given to those messengers whom I have heretofore forwarded to you, or to my other governors or lieutenants, when I had just cause to apprehend and fear certain sinister events, well knowing the conspiracy which the said admiral had formed against me, all those instructions I have revoked, and do now revoke, willing that neither by you nor by any others should any part of them be executed."

But the blast laden with destruction, which had before gone forth, was not thus easily to be recalled, and the fearful scenes enacted at Paris were imitated in many other parts of the kingdom.* When Mandelot acknowledged this second despatch,† he at the same time referred the king to an account already transmitted to him of occurrences which had taken place before the revocation of the former *verbal* orders had arrived, and which clearly evinces their atrocious nature. That their tendency indeed should ever have been doubted is not a little surprising. The written despatches contained soothing expressions to the Huguenots, whom it was necessary to deceive till the provincial garrisons were strengthened; but what could be the necessity for any *verbal* orders, unless they contained matter contradictory to that which had been written? Unless they enjoined deeds of which it was not deemed convenient that written evidence should

the British Museum, (Bibl. Egerton 9.) we are indebted to the great kindness and urbanity of John Holmes, Esq. one of the assistant curators of MSS. in that Collection.

* In the archives of Nantes is still preserved a Letter from the Duke of Bourbon to Montpensier, governor of that city, who had distinguished himself in Paris, on the St. Bartholomew, bearing date Aug. 26th, and enjoining the magistrates to imitate the example which had been set by the capital. "*Par là l'intention de sa Majesté est assez connue pour le traitement qui se doit faire aux Huguenots des autres villes.*" *Daru, Hist. de Bretagne*, tom. iii. liv. ix. p. 288.

† Sept. 5.

exist! Or why should the same prince, who did not scruple to avow that the great massacre at Paris had been executed by his commands, be thought too merciful to have authorized the slaughter which ensued in the provinces? Is it forgotten that Sully tells us he had in his hands documents, by which it appeared that the king extended his fury even beyond the bounds of France, by instigating foreign courts either to follow his example, or at least to refuse asylum to the Huguenots?*

From the day, indeed, on which the first messenger had arrived, the streets of Lyons ran with blood. In obedience to the king's written orders, and to that which the *Sieur de Perat*† told him on the part of his Majesty, Mandelot immediately took such measures "that the lives and property of the Reformers were at his disposal without any tumult or scandal."‡ For the remainder, whether we follow his own jejune official representation, the detailed narrative given by De Thou, or the rapid sketch by Capilupi, the "disposal" of those unhappy wretches was most pitiable. Each of the above-named accounts agrees in relating that the Huguenots were distributed in various places of confinement, that some of the prisons were forced by the populace, and that their inmates were massacred. The chief difference regards numbers. Mandelot himself allowed that about two hundred were killed in the archbishop's palace, but he expressed conviction that the others would be secure in the *retirements* which he had selected for them. But on the evening after he had thus written, those asylums, as he wished them to be considered, were sacked, and

* *Mémoires*, lib. tom. i. p. 44. Ed. Londres, 1778.

† This must be the Duperacus whom De Thou mentions as bearing orders, *velle ac jubere Regem ut Lugdunenses Parisiensium exemplum sequerentur*. lib. 12.

‡ *Que et les cors et les biens de ceulx de la Religion auroient esté saïsiz et mis sousz votre main sans aucun tumulte ny scandale*. *Correspondance*, xvi. p. 45.

the prisoners torn in pieces. No specimen of more shameless avidity for gain exists than is displayed in the remainder of this letter. The king is informed in it that all the property, goods, merchandise, and papers of the Huguenots have been secured; and he is counselled not to make any donation from them till their full value has been ascertained: "and I," concludes this most disinterested of governors, "will not be the first to make any demand upon your majesty's bounty; feeling well assured, that if you once begin with any others, I shall be so far honoured as not to be forgotten."* Not many days afterward, we find him pleading with the king against a charge which seems to have been whispered in the royal ear, that several *rich* Huguenots had been suffered to escape. "Sire," are the remarkable words sufficiently evincing the characters both of the writer and of the sovereign to whom they were addressed,— "Sire, I most humbly entreat you to believe that I most deeply regret that any one individual has been saved; and that not a single one has been so through my means."† Yet, Mandelot, before these damning testimonies of avarice and blood-thirstiness had been produced against him, was numbered by more than one modern writer among the few generous spirits who shrank from the execution of their king's sanguinary decrees. We shall perceive that some of his contemporaries formed a juster estimate of his merits.‡

De Thou attributes the carnage at Lyons, not to the direct orders, but to the connivance of Mandelot; who purposely absented himself at the time of its committal, and gave only an implied permission

* *Correspondance*, xvi. p. 49.

† *Id.* xxi. p. 70.

‡ The Editor of the *Correspondance* has cited some passages from modern pens, in which Mandelot is eulogized for having refused obedience to the king's orders. A truer account will be found in the extract from Capilupi, which we give a little onward in the text; and in the narrative, *De Furoribus Gallicis*, written immediately after the massacre, under the name of Varamund. lxxxii.

beforehand. Turning to the second messenger, who confirmed the statement of De Perat, one Peter of Auxerre, a king's advocate, notorious for former crimes, he addressed him with a blasphemous perversion of Scripture, "That which Christ once said to Peter, now, Peter, say I to thee, Whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose shall be loosened or shall be bound:" and the utterance of this parody on the words of the Prince of Peace, was the signal for almost immediate rapine and massacre.* The number killed at the archbishop's palace, according to De Thou, was three hundred; the number which perished in the city altogether thirteen hundred, of both sexes and all ages. Among them was the musician Guardimel, whom we have already mentioned as the composer of the tunes to the Psalms of Marot and Beza.† Burial was refused to the murdered heretics. The Rhone, through its whole downward course, was choked by their floating corpses; its waters and fish were for a long time rendered unfit for use; and the astonished inhabitants of distant villages on its banks imagined that some great battle had been fought, and trembled with the apprehension of an invading enemy.‡ In the narrative of Capilupi, the "matchless order and consummate prudence" with which Mandelot executed his instructions, awaken a rapturous eulogy. "The heretics," he says, "were taken calmly and quietly one by one, like so many cattle; and fearful and wonderful was the spectacle to see the greater part of them, without the slightest tumult,§ lying with their throats cut in the Piazza, naked as the beasts.

* De Thou, lii. 12.

† Vol. i. p. 50, note.

‡ One circumstance is too horrible for more than a passing notice; *opimioribus cadaveribus ad adipem conficiendam, pharmacoplis id de poscentibus concessit.* De Thou, *ibid.* It is corroborated by Varamund.

§ *Senza veders alcuntumulto* (the very words employed by Mandelot in his despatch to the king); *la maggior parte di loro scannati su la Piazza, ignudi come bestie.*

Another division, in order that less alarm might be created among the populace,* was thrown into the river; so that, in less than two days, not a soul remained alive, not a single individual could save himself!†

The pages of contemporary authors abound in narratives of similar enormities committed in many other parts of France. One thousand Huguenots perished at Orleans, five hundred at Rouen.‡ A writer, who professes his inability to relate more than a very small portion of the sufferings of the Reformed, enumerates eleven principal towns in which they were massacred by wholesale, and dwells, with a particularity sufficiently avouching the correctness of his information, upon many specific instances of atrocious cruelty.§ If other evidence of the great extent of this persecution were wanting, ample proof is afforded by the king's own proclamation for its suppression.|| The general thirst for blood which Charles had inflamed was not indeed to be allayed without copious draughts. Two months elapsed before the persecutors, wearied with carnage, dropped their blunted swords; and De Thou, perhaps, falls short rather than exceeds in his computation, when he fixes the whole number of Huguenots who perished at little below thirty thousand: of that number at least one-third may be allotted to Paris.¶

* *Per m'en spaventare il popolo.*

† *Lo Stratagema*, p. 41.

‡ De Thou, lii. 12.

§ *Mém. de l'état*, tom. i.

|| In a letter to the Duke of Guise, dated so early as Sept. 18, Charles speaks of *beaucoup de saccagemens et pilleries de maisons de croix de la dite Religion, tant aux champs qu'aux villes.* *Mém. de l'état*, tom. i. p. 416. And in a later circular, on the 28th October, he admits the commission of *infinis meurtres, pilleries, et ravissmens.* *Id.* p. 577.

¶ Capilupi (p. 41) says 25,000; Sully (*liv. i. tom. i. p. 54*), 70,000. Peresfixe, a Roman Catholic and Archbishop of Paris, has raised the number to nearly 100,000. It would be unjust to that most excellent and exemplary prelate, when mentioning his name in connexion with the St. Bartholomew, if we omitted to notice the indignation with which he dis-

When intelligence of the massacre was first announced at Rome, the Vatican gave loose to unbounded joy. The Pope* and Cardinals proceeded at once from the conclave in which the king's despatches had been read, to offer thanks, before the altar, for the great blessing which Heaven had vouchsafed to the Romish See and to all Christendom. Salvoes of artillery thundered at nightfall from the ramparts of St. Angelo; the streets were illuminated; and no victory ever achieved by the arms of the Pontificate elicited more tokens of festivity. The Pope also, as if resolved that an indestructible evidence of the perversion of moral feeling which fanaticism necessarily generates should be transmitted to posterity, gave orders for the execution of a commemorative medal. He had already been anticipated in Paris; and the effigies of Gregory XIII. and of Charles IX. may still be seen, in numismatic cabinets, connected with triumphant legends and symbolical devices, illustrative of the massacre.†

nounced it. *Action execrable, qui n'avoit jamais eu, et qui n'aura, s'il plaist à Dieu, jamais de pareille.* *Hist. de Henri le Grand*, p. 29. Laval's simplicity on this point, as well as on a good many others, is not a little amusing. He rejects the computation of De Thou. "Really he cannot be credited in this; for since the waters of the Seine, Loire, Marne, and Rhone, were actually turned into blood for several days, there must be certainly a greater quantity spilt than what can be afforded by the slaughter of 30,000 men, good part whereof were slain in places not lying upon the banks of those rivers." *Hist. of the Ref. in France*, vol. III. Part I. Book V. p. 437. Historians should be cautious in their use of figurative language, for there is no knowing by what sort of commentators they may happen to be illustrated.

* How little reliance can be placed on the testimony of the lively and entertaining Brantôme, when unsupported, is plain, from his account of the tears shed by Pius V. on receiving the news of the St. Bartholomew. *Discours* lxxix tom. vi. p. 303. It is almost needless to add, that Pius died on the 1st of May preceding the massacre.

† A vignette of the Papal Medal is given as a headpiece to the *Epitome* of the xlixth Book of De Thou, in the IIIrd volume of the London edition. The obverse bears the Pope's head; the reverse an Angel, carrying a sword in his right hand, a crucifix in his left, employed in the slaughter of a group of both sexes. The legend is *HUGONOTORUM STRAGES*, 1572. And see Bonanni *Numismata Pontif. Roman.* I. p. 336 (fig. 27), where the crucifix in the hand of the Angel is said to bear reference to the white cross marked on the doors of the Huguenots, and borne in the

The Cardinal of Lorraine presented the messenger with a thousand pieces of gold, and unable to restrain the extravagance of his delight, exclaimed, that he believed the king's heart to have been filled by a sudden inspiration from God, when he gave orders for the slaughter of the heretics.* Two days afterward, he celebrated a solemn service in the Church of St. Louis, with extraordinary magnificence; on which occasion, the Pope, the whole ecclesiastical body, and many resident ambassadors assisted. An elaborate inscription was then affixed to the portals of the Church, congratulating God, the Pope, the college of Cardinals, and the Senate and People of Rome, on the stupendous results and the almost incredible effects of the advice, the aid, and the prayers which had been offered during a period of twelve years.†

hats of the assassins. "Those medals," says Misson, in his *Voyage to Italy*, "are become very scarce, yet I obtained some of them by the assistance of my friends." He mentions also three pictures, painted by order of Gregory, in the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Vatican. One represented the Admiral shot by Maurevel; another his murder; and the third bearing, as an inscription, *Rex Carolus necem probat*. The delivering of the news of his assassination to the King. De Thou describes both gold and silver medals struck at Paris. The legend round the king's head in one was *VIRTUS IN REBELLES*; the device on the reverse two columns (the ordinary device of Charles), the legend *PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITIAM*. In the other, the legend on the obverse was *CAROLUS IX. REBELLUM DOMITOR*; the device on the reverse, Hercules with his club and a lighted torch destroying the hydra. liii. 1. See also *Mém. de l'état*, tom. i. p. 386.

* *Quant au Cardinal de Lorraine, qui en fit ce bel Arch Triumphant à Rome, il ne fait nulle mention de ceste Conjuration, mais attribue la toute à une soudaine inspiration de Dieu au cœur du Roy. Avertissement au Lecteur* prefixed to the French translation of *Lo Stratagema*, p. 8. We do not remember to have seen the Triumphant Arch mentioned elsewhere. The reader cannot fail to notice the implied disbelief of the Cardinal of Lorraine in any Huguenot conspiracy.

Walsingham, writing home to Burleigh a few months afterward, gives a striking impression of the ill repute in which the Cardinal of Lorraine was held. "All men look for some mischievous issue of their government. It lacketh but the Cardinal of Lorraine's presence to hasten the same to its full ripeness." Nov. 1, 1572. Digges, *Complete Ambassador*, p. 281.

† *Duodecennalium precum et votorum*. De Thou, liii. 4.

When the Cardinal of Lorraine indulged in this unchristian exultation over his fallen enemies, he might plead the excuse, slight and inadequate as it is, of having been engaged in a long personal and political collision ; during which angry passions were necessarily excited, and perhaps could not fail to establish dominion over a heart unaccustomed to self-discipline. But what shall be said of a man of letters and a foreigner, one removed from the scene of contest, and unconnected with these demoralizing strifes, who from the calm retirement of his study could eulogize a deed smelling so rankly to Heaven ! Perhaps no more remarkable monument exists of the extent to which the hardening influence of bigotry can pervert the human mind, than is afforded by the little volume, the *Stratagema* of Capilupi, to which we have more than once had occasion to allude. It was composed within a month after the commission of the foul act which it panegyricizes ; and it was inspected and patronised by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The writer, therefore, was well schooled in his subject : he evinces no mean powers of narration ; and he particularizes and dwells with undissembled pleasure, upon the various circumstances of horror with which he had become familiar. His main object was to build up that hypothesis which some later Romanists have sought to destroy ; and with all the advantages afforded by living at the very time, and by possessing intimate access to one best acquainted with the secret policy of the French Court, and who himself had often touched the springs by which it was directed, he blazoned abroad the massacre as the result of a long and deeply meditated design. Of his general style and mode of reasoning some judgment may be formed from the following specimen. " And here I must not pass by the greatness of this action, nor omit to consider and to weigh the virtue of the king and queen, and

of their counsellors, in adopting this noble and generous project; their dexterity in handling it; their art in dissembling, their prudence in concealing it; their ardour in pursuing, and their great happiness in finally executing it. To say the truth, if we diligently examine all these things, not only are the enactors worthy of everlasting glory, but no one can doubt that they were elected and set apart by the all-powerful Redeemer to minister His eternal will. Through their means, He brought to perfection a work which must be affirmed to proceed from His infinite sovereignty. Every man moreover must be forced to confess and to acknowledge that this action was premeditated, conceived, and put in train many months beforehand, and did not spring from accident; neither was it eventually provoked by the insolence of the Huguenots after the wound of the admiral. Some persons, I know, profess that opinion, and are anxious to make others also believe it; averring that the assassination of the admiral might be premeditated, but that the general massacre happened casually, and resulted from the necessity of circumstances. The falsehood of this notion will plainly appear, if we examine all the passages of the affair, and the many tokens of forethought and design which the king and queen for a long time had manifested, at various seasons and to different persons.* If it were not for the indisputable certainty of the publication of this tract two hundred and sixty years ago, Capilupi might be thought to address himself in these words to the rakers up of the dead ashes of former incredulity, who have endeavoured in our own

* *Lo Stratagema*, p. 67. In other places Capilupi calls the massacre *un glorioso fatto—questo felicissimo trattato*; and again he says more fully, *considerandosi poi la felicità colla quale un tanto negotio sia pervenuto a buon fine in così breve tempo, non si può restar senza stupore, e di non ritornar sempre a questo passo di conchiuder; necessariamente che il tutto sia stata opera e volontà di Dio, qui in misericordia motus voluit visitare plebem suam.* p. 77.

time to kindle them into new flame by the breath of partisanship.*

In Madrid, the news, it is said, was received with scarcely less ecstasy than at Rome. So great was the expedition of the courier by whom it was conveyed, that he travelled three days and three nights without repose; and the King of Spain at first scarcely credited that intelligence so joyous could be true. The letter of Charles at length convinced him that he might indulge the gratifying belief; and without a moment's loss of time, he sent the courier on to the Admiral of Castile. That minister was at table when he was interrupted by a loud cry from one entering the banqueting-room, "News, news, good news! All the Lutherans, and especially the chiefs, were put to the sword in Paris three days since; only three of them," continued the bearer of these glad tidings, "have survived. Vandomillo" (the little Vendôme, as the Spaniards affected to call the King of Navarre), "because he had married the king's sister; the Prince of Condé, who is but a boy; and the Count of Montgomery, who has saved himself by a miracle, not of God but of the devil, having ridden seventy leagues on horseback without stopping." The Duke D'Infantado (who, in excuse for his simplicity, we are informed, was a very young prince, and as yet unexperienced in courts†) happened to be among the company; and he put a natural question, whether Coligny and his partisans were Christians! When answered in the affirmative, he added an equally natural expression

* When the library of the Vatican was at Paris, M. de Chateaubriand discovered in it some despatches written in cipher from that city, by Salviati, the papal nuncio, between July 5 and Nov. 27, 1572. M. de Chateaubriand inferred from those documents that the massacre was not premeditated. Sir James Mackintosh, to whom they were communicated, remained unshaken in his former opinion to the contrary. The evidence is examined at length by the continuator of Sir James Mackintosh's *Hist. of England* (vol. iii. p. 223), and it plainly resolves itself into the single and unsupported assertion of Salviati.

† *Fort jeune Prince et peu encor pratic,*

of astonishment, that being both Frenchmen and Christians they should have been slaughtered like so many beasts !*

The youth of the two Bourbon princes, the royal blood of which they partook, the alliance which Henry in particular had contracted, but six days before, with Margaret, may have presented themselves to the king, her brother, as strong arguments for permitting them to live. Neither would it have been easy for him to fulfil his original intention of imputing the massacre to the Guises, if he had allowed his own kinsmen to be assassinated under the roof of his own palace. On the morning of the 24th, the two princes were arrested and rudely carried to the king's presence-chamber ; where Charles, after announcing the death of Coligny and the existing state of his capital, upbraided them with the many wrongs which he had suffered from themselves and from their adherents : at the same time professing his willingness to believe that they had erred from the misguidance of others, provided they would now renounce their false creed, and adopt the ancient religion.† The King of Navarre evinced little firmness, and readily temporized ; but Condé long hesitated. Even the threat of the Bastile,‡ and the final terrific alternative proposed to his choice, *La*

* Brantôme, *Discours* lxxix. tom. vi. p. 301, 303, where he professes to relate the anecdote on the authority of a gentleman present at the time. He makes a similar assertion, however, respecting the grief of Pius V., which we have noticed before.

† Davila's choice of words is remarkable—*in tanto il Rè et la Reina confortavano il Rè di Navarra*, lib. v. tom. i. p. 295.

‡ " They prepare the Bastile for some persons of quality. It is thought that it is for the Prince of Condé and his brethren."—Walsingham to Sir Thomas Smith, Sept. 13, 1572. Digges, p. 240. The estimation in which the Bastile was held may be learned from another despatch a few days later, in which Walsingham attributes the abjuration, to which the Prince of Condé had then consented, to a dread of imprisonment. " On Sunday last, the young Princess of Condé was constrained to go to mass, being threatened otherwise to go to prison, and so consequently to be made away. The Prince of Condé hath also yielded to hear mass upon Sunday next, being otherwise threatened to go to the Bastile, where he is not likely long to serve."—*Id.* p. 245.

mort ou la Messe,* availed not to shake his constancy; and it is believed, that but for the intercession of the queen-consort, Charles at one time would have stabbed him with his own hand for his obstinate recusancy.† The seasonable conversion of a Huguenot minister, Sureau du Rosier, a pastor of high reputation in Orleans, at length produced the effect which Charles desired. Condé listened without change to a public declaration of faith, which Du Rosier pronounced before the Sorbonne; but when he afterward received assurance from the weak or treacherous minister that he was sincere, and that he had not yielded to the terrors of martyrdom, the young prince surrendered his own better conviction, and no longer refused to conform. The subsequent course of the wretched tool whom the king had thus employed leaves it doubtful whether he had deceived himself or was a deceiver of others. For a time, he practised largely and with success as a Romish missionary, both in Paris and in Metz: but in an attempt at Sedan to shake the faith of a distinguished Huguenot lady, a daughter of the Duke de Bouillon and wife of the Duke de Montpensier, he encountered a signal defeat. Chagrined at this failure, and touched with remorse at the warnings of his ancient brethren, he retired to Heidelberg; and there, as De Thou well expresses it, he recanted his former repentance, published a tract‡ full of bitter sorrow for his past

* *Prefixe*, p. 30. Davila has related this scene vividly: *Il Rê, inasprito dall' ostinatione e dalla durezza sua, fattolo per ultimo esperimento condurre a se, con voce e aspetto terribile gli disse queste tre sole parole, "Messa, Morte, o Bastiglia?" Ne gli volle permettere che replicasse in contrario alcuna cosa.* lib. v. tom. i. p. 300.

† De Thou, liii. 3.

‡ *Confession de reconnaissance d'Hugues Sureau, dit du Rosier, touchant sa cheute en la Papauté, et les horribles scandales par luy commis; servant de l'exemple à tout le monde de la fragilité et perversité de l'homme abandonné à soy, et de l'infinie miséricorde et ferme vérité de Dieu envers ses esleus*: printed in the *Mém. de l'estat.* tom. ii. p. 104. In this tract is mentioned a remarkable artifice practised by the Romanists, who stated in the authorized account of the King of Na-

offences, and wrote to Condé, imploring forgiveness for having hurried him into so grievous a peril of conscience by his pestilent and destructive ministry. This double apostasy* justly degraded him in the eyes of both religions; and he passed the remainder of his days in Germany, unmolested indeed, but neglected and despised.†

The appearance of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé at mass, and the publicity given to letters which they were persuaded to address to the Pope,‡ deploring their former blindness, and soliciting reconciliation to the bosom of the Church, removed all doubt as to their change. Gregory replied§ most graciously, and accepted their professions of conformity. Before the arrival of this answer, Henry had issued a decree|| abolishing the reformed religion and restoring the ancient faith in his hereditary dominions. The Bearnese, however, refused obedience to the edict; which they declared with boldness, and perhaps with truth, was not the result of free will, but had been extorted from their king in his captivity.

The miserable state of France at this period, the dislocation of all the bonds of internal society,

warre's conversion, that it was occasioned by the recantation of several other ministers besides Du Rosier. "This assertion," says the penitent, "is utterly false; there was no apostate except myself; *mais on a suivi la coutume les Papistes, lesquels ne sauroient reciter simplement ce qui est advenu, sans y adjouster quelque chose.*"—p. 107.

* If the authority of the Bishop of Madaura may be trusted, it was more than double. He says that Du Rosier in youth had received deacon's orders in the Romish Church. *Hist. de l'Heresie dans la Ville de Metz*, liv. ii. p. 376.

† He died in 1575, himself and his whole family being swept away by the plague. *Remarques sur la Confession de Sancy. Journal de Henry III.*, tom. v. p. 504. *Hist. de l'Heresie*, ut sup. where Bp. Meurisse speaks of Sureau with the bitterest contempt. "Il vesquit pourtant, tousjours depuis, parmi ceux de ce party, dans un grand mespris, pares qu'il fut recogneu pour un fourbe, pour un esprit inconstant, pour un homme sans religion, sans conscience, et mesme sans jugement, et qui ne fut jamais après ceste recherche, d'un sens rassis. Ce detestable, après avoir trainé le reste de sa vie en langueurs et en miseres, mourut de peste, avec sa femme pretendue et tous ses enfans dans la ville de Francker."—p. 362, 363. The statement is probably overcharged.

§ October 2.

|| November 1.

¶ October 13.

the petty subterfuges to which the court was reduced in its intercourse with foreign powers, the universal mistrust of its sincerity generated in consequence, the present sufferings of the people at large, and the gloomy anticipations which pervaded all classes for the future, are vividly depicted in the despatches of Sir Francis Walsingham, at that time resident ambassador from England. Walsingham, it need scarcely be observed, was one of the most penetrating, active, and sagacious of that unrivalled band of statesmen who directed the councils of Elizabeth; and his record of the transactions which he witnessed, and of the principal actors in them, with whom he almost daily associated, abounds in keen dramatic interest. We find him, on the Wednesday after the massacre, expressing thanks to Charles and the queen-mother for the great care which it had pleased them to take of his own person and of Englishmen in general, during the late "tumult:" and requesting to be informed of "the very truth thereof," in order that he might advertise his mistress.* Shortly afterward, he learned that three English had been killed and many others plundered;† for which outrages the king promised exemplary justice, and must have been somewhat perplexed when the ambassador calmly replied, that it would be hard to produce the offenders, the disorder having been so general, and the sword having been committed to the common people. In an early interview with Catherine, Walsingham boldly touched upon the conferences at Bayonne as having produced a league against those of the Religion, and she appears to have been galled by the charge; for, in reply, without adducing any opposite proof,

* Digges, p. 228.

† "We hear say," writes Sir Thomas Smith, in a despatch to Walsingham, dated Sept. 12, "that he that was sent by my lord-chamberlain to be schoolmaster to young Wharton, being come the day before, was then slain. Alas! he was acquainted with nobody, nor could be perswader of any evil-dealing."—*Id.* p. 232.

she contented herself with inveighing vehemently against the admiral, and with maintaining that "the assembly at Bayonne tended to no other end than to make good cheer." Then followed that oft-cited conversation in which the subtle queen was so completely baffled by the ready answers of the minister, whom she expected to silence. "See in this paper," said Catherine, "how much your mistress was beholden to the admiral!" and she showed him an autograph discourse, found in the pillage of the murdered nobleman's cabinet,* in which he advised Charles to keep the Queen of England as low as he could, for the safety and maintenance of his own crown. "To that I answered," writes Walsingham, "that in this point, however he was affected towards the queen my mistress, he showed himself a most true and faithful subject to the crown of France; and the queen's majesty my mistress made the more account of him for that she knew him faithfully affected to the same." Catherine then spoke of the king's intention to allow liberty of conscience; but in the same breath she remarked, that he would have but one religion in his realms. When asked how that resolution could accord with the declaration so often repeated, that they designed in all things fully to observe the terms of the last peace? she evaded the inquiry, by stating that they had discovered certain matters of late which made it necessary to abolish the exercise of the Reformed Religion. "'Why, madam,' said I, 'will you have them live without *any* exercise of religion?'—'Even,' said she, 'as your mistress suffereth the Catholiques of England.'" The parry no doubt was dexterous, but it was returned by a

* These papers were intrusted to the care of Jean de Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans, who made a catalogue, suppressing a great number, which, tending to Coligny's justification, might have been injurious to the king and to Catherine. *Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. 1. p. 501.

masterly and triumphant pass, which no adroitness could elude. "My mistress did never promise them any thing by edict; if she had, she would not have failed to perform it." Catherine terminated the conversation by pettishly remarking, that each kingdom must be governed according to the discretion of its own sovereign.*

The French ambassador in England, uncertain what tale he was to avouch, at first seemed wholly incompetent to satisfy Elizabeth's searching inquiries. He showed outwardly "a marvellous inward grief of mind for this shameful fact, professing himself ashamed to be counted a Frenchman."† Political expediency forbade an open rupture with France, but Elizabeth was not backward in expressing her horror of the act, and her conviction of its premeditation.‡ In Paris, as we have seen, no disguise was attempted; the king declared, "as well by speech as by continuance of the most extreme severity towards those of the Religion, that the said accident proceeded of himself."§ When asked why he had not preferred a legal process to an unlicensed massacre, "for it cannot be denied that the forces that murdered so many might more easily have attached them;" especially why he had not rather arrested than assassinated the admiral, "being in his bed, lamed both in the right hand and the left, and lying in danger under the care of surgeons, being also guarded about his private house by a number of his majesty's

* Digges, p. 241, 242.

† *Id.* "The Council to Walsingham," p. 247.

‡ In the "Instructions to Henrye Killygrewe, Esq.," Elizabeth's envoy in Scotland, issued immediately after the massacre, it is called "the great murder," "the cruel murdering of so manie in Paris:" and his orders are to express to the regent, in the queen's name, "that we are affraide, and in a manner perfectlie doe see, that this has bene premeditated and minded of long tyme before." These instructions were communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by their learned secretary, Sir Henry Ellis, F.R.S. (to whose kindness we are indebted for our knowledge of them), and are printed in vol. xxii. of the *Archæologia*.

§ Digges, p. 253.

guard!" Charles answered, "seeming with that kind of speech to be somewhat moved, 'that the loss of life and kingdom goeth near to a prince.'"^{*} Catherine, more unabashed, declared that time was wanting for a gentler course; that, had it not been for promptness of movement, one of the gates of the Louvre, and consequently the persons of the king and of herself, would, within two hours, have been mastered by the Huguenots; that the plot of the Reformed was constructed on the night of the admiral's wound; and that Montgomery, on the following morning, appeared in the suburbs at the head of a troop of horse, to await any favourable movement within the city.

A few plain words from Walsingham sufficed to overthrow these bold assertions. "I showed her that Friday, at night, after the admiral was hurt, between nine and ten of the clock, the said count (Montgomery) came into my lodging, and among other communications he said that as he and those of his religion had just cause to be sorry for the admiral's hurt, so had they no less cause to rejoice to see the king so careful, as well for the curing the admiral, as also for the searching out of the party that had hurt him. 'No small argument,' saith he, 'of the king's sincerity:' which kind of speech seemed to be void of all conspiracy and discontentment." The troop of horse which he retained in the suburbs, and which, it was averred, was to aid in the insurrection, to overthrow the ten thousand armed men who sentinelled the Louvre, and to put the royal family to death, amounted to not quite forty persons; among them were distributed no more than four pistols; and so confident moreover was the leader of this formidable band of conspirators that the king's protection was extended over the Reformed, that even on the "very morning in which the

^{*} Digges, p. 256.

execution was done," his suspicions were not awakened by the tumult in the city, and he was ignorant of the massacre long after it had commenced. To an English gentleman, whom Walsingham had sent in his own name to inquire, "What stir there was in the town?" Montgomery replied, that "True it was, some stir was in the town, and the king had taken so good order therein as all was appeased, and that he had placed such guards about the admiral's house as he was in safety."* At the moment in which this too credulous answer was delivered to Walsingham's messenger, several hours must have elapsed since the admiral had perished, through the treachery of that very guard upon which Montgomery relied for his security. And so far was the tumult from having been appeased by the king's order, that the king had directed the murderers to advance upon the quarter in which Montgomery lodged, and was preparing to assist with his own hands in the work of blood. Not even the powerful arguments which De Thou has so ably concentrated to prove the utter impossibility of any conspiracy among the Huguenots,† are more convincing than these two facts advanced by Walsingham; and it cannot be too strongly borne in remembrance, that if the pretext of a reasonable belief in such a conspiracy be broken down, together with it must fall the only argument upon which the absence of premeditation in the massacre can be founded.

But listen to Walsingham in continuation. "There is no regard here to word, writing, or edict, be it never so solemnly published, nor to any protestations made heretofore to foreign princes for the performance of the same."* "The king's own conscience, so common a companion is fear with tyranny" (it might be Tacitus who was holding the pen), "makes him to repute all those of the Re-

* Digges, p. 254, 255.

† *l*iii. l.

‡ Digges, p. 257.

ligion, as well at home as abroad, his enemies, and so consequently not to wish one of them alive.* "I think it less peril to live with them as enemies than as friends."† He then notices the brutal sportiveness with which the Parisians spoke of the late atrocities, as "a Bartholomew breakfast and a Florence banquet;"‡ he declares that "they are here so far embued in blood, as there is no end of their cruelty; for no town escapeth where any of the Religion is to be found, without general murthering and sacking of them; and yet they protest all this to be done against their will, though it be evidently known that it is done by their commandment."§ And in another place he exclaims, "What will be the issue of these tragical things here God only knoweth, but generally every man feareth that all will go to ruin!"||

The last ferocious act of Charles, which grew immediately out of the St. Bartholomew, was a mock trial, instituted against the deceased admiral and his adherents in the pretended conspiracy. The sentence passed against Coligny, as a traitor, involved confiscation of all his property, perpetual infamy, and the suppression of his name. His body, if it could be found (and if that were not possible, his effigy), was to be drawn on a hurdle through the streets, and gibbeted, first in the Place de Grève for six hours, afterward on a loftier spot at Montfaucon. His armorial bearings were to be dragged at a horse's tail through every town in which they might have been set up, and to be defaced and broken in pieces by the common executioner; his statues, busts, and portraits were to be demolished in like manner. His chief seat at Chastillon was to be razed to the ground; no building was ever again to be founded on its site; the trees in the park were to

* Digges, p. 257.
§ *Id.* p. 269.

† *Id.* p. 258.
|| *Id.* p. 282.

‡ *Id.* p. 267.

be cut down to half their natural height ; the glebe was to be sown with salt ; and, in some central spot, a column was to be erected, bearing on it this decree engraved in brass. His children had escaped the fury of the king during the massacre ; but they were now proscribed, degraded from their nobility, declared incapable of bearing witness in courts of law, stripped of all civil privileges, and the power of holding any public office, or of enjoying any property within the limits of France for ever.* An annual public religious service and procession was at the same time instituted, to commemorate the mercy of Heaven which had so signally averted calamity from the kingdom on the festival of St. Bartholomew.†

It was not, however, on the dead only that the vengeance of the court was content to wreak itself in these moments of subsidence. Two living victims also were provided for sacrifice. Cavagne, a counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse, and Briquemaut, who at seventy years of age had retired from the profession of arms, in which he had long served with honour, were arrested as Huguenots, a short time after the massacre. The escape of Briquemaut during the Parisian carnage was attended with remarkable circumstances. Perceiving that every outlet was blockaded, and that the murderers were in close pursuit, he stripped off his clothes, and throwing himself among a heap of bleeding corpses, lay upon his face and counterfeited death. His nakedness prevented examination and discovery by the wretches who followed in the train of the assassins, to rifle their fallen victims ; and at night, wrapping round him such rags as were near at hand, he stole

* *Ignobles villains, roturiers, intestables, indignes et incapables de tenir estats, offices, dignités et biens en ce royaume. Arrest against the admiral. Mém. de l'estat, tom. i. p. 568, &c.*

† De Thou, liii. 9. *Dialogus*, p. 126.

away unobserved, and took refuge at the house of the English ambassador.* There he found employment in the stables, and he was dressing a horse at the moment in which he was recognised and arrested.†

The charge brought against him and Cavagne was participation in the admiral's conspiracy;‡ with the exception, therefore, of the merely personal clauses, their sentence was similar to that which we have just recited; and De Thou, who heard it read to them, notices the fortitude with which Briquemaut listened, notwithstanding the unusual ignominy with which one nobly born was adjudged to the gallows, till he found that in some of the penalties his children also were included. "What have *they* done to merit this severity?" was the inquiry of the heart-broken veteran. Between five and six in the evening of the 27th of October, the sad procession quitted the Conciergerie for the Place de Grève. In the mouth of the straw effigy by which the admiral was represented, some heartless mocker had placed a tooth-pick, to increase the resemblance by

* Sir Philip Sydney, who was on his travels at the time, was among others to whom Walsingham's hotel afforded an asylum. Strype, *Annals of Elizabeth*, vol. i. book i. ch. 17.

† *Lo Stratagema*, p. 49. De Serres, *Commentaries*, iv. p. 58, &c.

‡ Henry Stephens, in the *Discours merveilleux de Catherine de Medicis* (if that trenchant satire be his composition), states that Briquemaut and Cavagne were promised their lives, if they would admit that there had been a conspiracy; that upon their refusal, they were ineffectually put to the torture; that the court before which they were first tried acquitted them; that a second and more compliant tribunal convicted them of peculation on the royal exchequer; notwithstanding which sentence they were executed as conspirators. xlii. *Journal de Henri III.*, tom. ii. p. 300. The arrest against them in the *Mém. de Festat* expressly condemns them as accomplices of the admiral, tom. i. p. 566. Walsingham states, that a little before their death they were compelled to sign blank papers, on which confessions of the conspiracy were afterward written and exhibited to some of the German princes, in justification of the massacre. Digges, p. 302.

§ Walsingham to Sir Thomas Smith. Digges, p. 278. In that despatch, October 22 is given, probably by an error of the press, instead of 27; and the respective parts acted by Briquemaut and Cavagne while on the scaffold are directly at variance with those assigned to them by De Thou.

imitating one of his common habits.* At the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, which commanded a near view of the scaffold, were assembled Charles (to whom his consort on that morning had presented her first-born child), the queen-mother, and the King of Navarre, who had been compelled to attend. A considerable delay took place, and some proposal appears to have been made, by which, even at the last moment, the condemned might have purchased their lives, if they would have debased themselves by treachery and falsehood. When at length the hangman had thrown them from the ladder, Charles ordered flambeaux to be held close to their faces, in order that he might distinctly view the variety of expression which each exhibited in his parting agony.† Suetonius does not record a more fiend-like anecdote of the worst of the Cæsars.‡ The populace imitated the brutality of their sovereign. During the long and fearful pause which had occurred on the scaffold, and the many hours through which the bound and defenceless prisoners endured that lingering expectation far more bitter than death itself, their suffering was heightened by cruel outrages inflicted by the rabble; who, when life was

* De Thou, liii. 9. Where, in one MS., allusion is made to a proverb specifying *de rebus quæ simulata fiunt*, the rosary of the Constable Montmorency, the mass-book of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, the scarlet hat of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the tooth-pick of the admiral: Brantôme gives a different version; the proverb, he says, was Italian, *Dio mi guarda del bel gigneto del Principe di Condé, et dell' animo et stecco dell' Admiraglio*; adding that Coligny always carried a tooth-pick in his mouth, behind his ear, or stuck in his beard. *Discours lxxx. l. tom. vi. p. 333.*

† *D'autant qu'il estoit nuit à l'heure de l'exécution* (they had quitted their prison, as we have seen, between five and six o'clock), *il fit allumer des flambeaux, et les tenir près de la potence pour les voir mieux mourir, et contempler leurs visages et contenance.* Brantôme, *Discours lxxviii. tom. vii. p. 206.*

‡ Yet the inhumanity is heightened by an odious fact, which the research of Dulwich College has drawn from a contemporary authority. *Non sans faire des ris de la contenance de l'un et de l'autre.* MS. Bib. du Roi, 324, St. Germ. f. 146.

extinct, dragged the bodies from the gallows, and savagely tore them in pieces.

Who can be surprised that Walsingham expressed earnest desire to come out from among a people like this ! and that he long and eagerly solicited recall from his most painful embassy ! We cannot take our leave of an authority to which we have been so largely indebted, without subjoining a burst of rude but powerful eloquence which the scenes the envoy had described called forth from his friend and correspondent Sir Thomas Smith, Queen Elizabeth's secretary. No words can more strongly evince the detestation in which the crime of the French court was held in England, notwithstanding political interests forbade an open quarrel. "What warrant can the French make, now seals and words of princes being traps to catch innocents and bring them to butchery ! If the admiral and all those murdered on that bloody Bartholomew day were guilty, why were they not apprehended, imprisoned, interrogated, and judged ! But so much made of as might be, within two hours of the assassination !* Is that the manner to handle men either culpable or suspected ! So is the journeyer slain by the robber ; so is the hen of the fox ; so the hind of the lion ; so Abel of Cain ; so the innocent of the wicked ; so Abner of Joab ! But grant they were guilty, they dreamed treason that night in their sleep ; what did the innocent men, women, and children do at Lyons ! What did the sucking children and their mothers at Rouen deserve ! at Caen ! at Rochelle ! What is done yet we have not heard, but I think shortly we shall hear. Will God, think you, still sleep ! Will not their blood ask vengeance ! Shall not the earth be accursed that hath sucked up the innocent blood poured out like water upon it !"†

* Sic orig.

† Digges, p. 202.

CHAPTER XII.

Dispersion of the Huguenots—Siege of La Rochelle—La Nouë employed to negotiate—He accepts the Command of the Garrison—His Motives—He endeavours to promote Peace—The Rochellois Ministers oppose him—He resigns his Command and withdraws—Fruitless Assaults—Heroism of the besieged Women—Ineffectual Attempt at Relief by Montgomery—Disaffection in the Royalist Camp—The Duke of Anjou elected King of Poland—He raises the Siege—Peace—Siege of Sancerre—Famine—Léry's Narrative—Capitulation—Reluctant Departure of the King of Poland to his Dominions—His Reception by the Elector Palatine.

IN the general dispersion of the Huguenots which succeeded the recent massacres, those who had expatriated found refuge in England, in the Palatinate, and in parts of Swisserland. Geneva, Basle, and Berne successively offered asylums to the children of the admiral, to those of his brother D'Andelot, and to the widow of Teligny; and by the active liberality of Beza and his colleagues sufficient funds were contributed for the support of numerous other and wholly destitute refugees.* Many upon whom the abandonment of home and its deeply rooted charities pressed with insufferable burden threw themselves upon the current of the times and subscribed an abjuration prepared by the Sorbonne; while their brethren, more firm of purpose, or less entangled by domestic bonds, fled to the strong-holds in the Cevennes, to Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, and La Rochelle, determined upon the maintenance of their faith at all hazards and under every extremity.†

The king, meanwhile, established four armies in the field. Chastres, Governor of Berri, received orders to attack Sancerre, and after some bloody and

* Spon. *Hist. de Geneve*, tom. i. p. 320, note.

† De Thou, *libl.* 2.

fruitless assaults* he converted the siege into a blockade. The Marèchal de Villars, who had succeeded Coligny as admiral, ravaged Guyenne and pressed upon Montauban; and Nismes was committed to the observation of the Duke de Joyeuse. But La Rochelle was on many accounts the city which excited most powerful interest, and upon its possession appeared to depend the fortunes of the contending parties. Its extent, which rendered it capable of admitting a very large and powerful force, the strength of its fortifications, and the facility of intercourse which its maritime site afforded with England (a state always regarded with jealousy, and more especially to be suspected at the present moment), were so many reasons which prompted the court to wish for its speedy reduction: and while a sufficient armament was gathering in order to compel obedience, no stratagem of diplomacy was omitted by which it might be obtained through persuasion. Long before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the neighbouring port of Brouage had been occupied by a fleet under the command of Filippo Strozzi (a brave member of a distinguished Italian family engaged in the naval service of France from the time of Henry II.) and of the Baron de la Garde, than whom no more skilful mariner, nor more deadly enemy of the Huguenots, existed.† It was upon this

* The failure of an assault upon which great hope of success had been rested is mentioned by the king in a despatch to La Moite Feneion, his ambassador in England, dated March 21, 1573. The correspondence with that minister, printed by La Laborer, in the iii. vol. of the *Mém. de Castelnau*, affords invaluable materials for the two years and a half which it embraces, from 1572 to Oct. 1575. The despatch noticed above will be found at p. 311.

† Antoine Escalin, Baron de la Garde, was originally known as Le Capitaine Polin, under which name he had been concerned in an early persecution. S'estant un peu trop emporté rigoureusement en Provence, contre les Hérétiques de Merindol et Cabrières (car il haysoit mortellement ces gens là) il encourut la male grace de son Roy, dont il en garda la prison long temps. Brantôme, *Discours* lxxv. tom. vi. p. 156. What must have been the enormities of one thought worthy of displeasure for transactions in which the marvellous D'Oppeda escaped

force that the king, in the first instance, relied for success, when he commanded the Rochellois to admit within their walls Biron his governor of Saint-tonge, and to close their gates against the fugitive rebels ; promising them, as a reward for obedience, the privilege of assembling for public worship, which was denied elsewhere throughout his dominions.

Undeceived by this hollow assurance, the Rochellois at first thought it their interest to temporize ; and without absolutely rejecting these offers, they demanded, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the fleet from Brouage, and of the troops who were assembling in their neighbourhood. Their ordinary population was already increased by nearly fifty personages of noble birth, by about an equal number of ministers, and by 1500 soldiers, resolutely prepared to defend the asylum in which they had found refuge ;* and in case of open hostilities they had good reason to expect an auxiliary force from England, under the command of Montgomery. After a few days therefore had passed, they ventured upon a much less reserved declaration, in Sept. 30.

which they stigmatized the massacre as an unheard-of cruelty, refused credence to the king's avowal of himself as its author, and charged the crime altogether upon the Guises. No argument, they said, could ever persuade them that the best and most merciful of kings could have perpetrated so foul an enormity. For, to couple infamy with his name by affirming that which he had at first denied ; to proclaim that he would keep the last peace unbroken, and yet by the same edict to prohibit the celebration of public worship on pain of death ; during the celebration of his sister's nuptials to violate the sa-

unharméd ! Nevertheless, La Laboreur has spoken of De la Garde in high terms of praise : and without attempting to extenuate the atrocities of Cabrières and Merindol, he attributes the baron's share in them to the blindness of professional obedience. *Addit. aux Mém. de Castelnaud*, tom. ii. p. 5.

* De Thou, lib. 10.

credness both of the hearth and of the altar, of hospitality and of religion, by the carnage of so many of his noblest and bravest subjects, of women and children, of both sexes and of all ages : what was that but to blow hot and cold with the same breath!* If any one should dare to affirm that their most excellent king had thus deeply plunged himself in wickedness, every man among them was prepared to throw the impudent falsehood in the asserter's teeth, and to maintain the royal dignity and innocence by his sword. In fine, ready as they were at all times to manifest obedience to their sovereign, they felt it their duty to be especially cautious, in the present disturbed state of their country, when the Guises not only hunted down guiltless men, but offered violence even to the throne itself ; and they should consider it the act of madmen, if, after the recent great calamity, they tamely offered their throats, to be butchered like sheep by foreigners thirsting for French blood, and enemies both to the king and to his kingdom.†

Notwithstanding the boldness of this declaration, it is not improbable that the Rochellois might have consented to treat with Biron, whose inclination to their faith was well known ; and who, it was indeed believed, would have been numbered among the victims of the massacre at Paris, had it not been for the wise precaution with which he had fortified himself beforehand in the arsenal.‡ But some unseasonable menaces to themselves from the Baron de la Garde, and intelligence of numerous savage outrages committed in other parts of France, even in towns which had received assurance of the royal protection, renewed those suspicions which the character

* This "lame and impotent conclusion" is chargeable upon De Thou from whom we are translating. He enumerates the atrocities noticed in the text, and then adds, "quid aliud esse quam calidum et frigidum eodem ore ac spiritu simul efflare. liii. 10.

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ Brantôme, *Discours* lxxiii. tom. vii. p. 8.

of Biron had tended to allay. Two days accordingly were set apart for solemn fasts ; and the favour of Heaven having been implored, they disregarded the conciliating edicts which the king published from time to time, in the hope of lulling their jealousy to sleep, and they refused more than one offer on the part of Biron to continue his negotiation.*

War therefore was now for the fourth time openly declared against the Hugue- Nov. 8.
nots, and Biron was instructed to besiege La Rochelle.† Pasquier, whose sagacity we have so frequently mentioned, perceived all the difficulties which were to be encountered in a siege thus begun in the depth of winter, against a city covered on one side by the sea and on almost all the others by marshes ; he anticipated evil also from the national temperament of his countrymen ; impetuous in the outset, inconstant as women if their wishes are long delayed.‡ Biron's first movements, however, were tardy, for a hope of accommodation was still cherished ; and it is not the least remarkable occurrence of these singular times, that a step taken by the king for the express purpose of winning the Rochellois into submission furnished them with their most powerful instrument of resistance.‡

Whether Charles at any time entertained a serious design of curbing the Spanish ascendancy in the Netherlands, or whether, in the few demonstrations which he made to that effect, his sole object was to encourage the late admiral's delusion, it is now impossible to decide ; but he had intrusted a small de-

* Davila ascribes the obstinate rejection of the king's offers by the Rochellois to the secret and treacherous instigation of Biron. lib. v. tom. i. p. 303.

† *Plus vous sçavez quelle est la nature d'un Francois, qui veut dès son entr'e estre servy d'une gorge chaude, autrement à la longue il se valentit ainsi qu'une femme.* Pasquier, *Lettres*, lib. v. tom. i. p. 317.

‡ *Con l'inviare Monsignor della Nua si provide loro di Capitano del quale più che d'ogni altra cosa erano bisognosi.* Davila, lib. v. tom. i. p. 305.

tachment to a Huguenot officer, Francis Seigneur de la Nouë, of whom we have before had occasion to make honourable mention, to assist Louis of Nassau in his operations against the Dutch frontier towns. Chiefly through the skill and courage of La Nouë, Mons yielded to the combined arms; but the inadequacy of the force with which he was left to garrison his conquest obliged him, after a short occupation, once more to surrender it to the Duke D'Alva. Three days after this capitulation had been signed occurred the massacre of Paris; in which, had it not been for his seasonable employment elsewhere, there is little doubt that La Nouë also would have perished among the great mass of his friends. All hope of rendering effectual service in the Netherlands being terminated by the conditions under which he had surrendered at Mons, to remain longer in that country was useless; to return to France was pregnant with danger. After a short period of doubt, however, relying on the honour and the approved friendship of the Duke de Longueville, Governor of Picardy, he ventured into that province, where he was kindly and generously received. When La Rochelle declined the king's proposals, Longueville well knowing the weighty influence which La Nouë possessed in that city, of which he had been governor during the last war, and feeling assured also of his moderate and pacific views, was convinced that no more efficacious mediator could be employed. With this hope, he entreated him to repair to Paris, where, on his introduction to the king, he was received courteously and confidentially.* Charles, as

* It was on this occasion that the Duke de Longueville cautioned La Nouë respecting the great change which had been effected in the demeanour of Charles since the massacre. Brantôme repeats the words from La Nouë's own lips. "*M. de la Nouë, advisés bien, quand vous serez devant le Roy, d'estre sage et parler sagement; car vous ne parlés plus à ce Roy doux, benin et gracieux, que vous avés veu cy-devant. Il est tout changé: il a plus de sévérité à cette heure au visage, qu'il n'a jamais eu de douceur.*"—*Discours* lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 207.

an earnest of future grace and favour, restored their confiscated estates to the family of Teligny, whose sister La Nouë had married; and then proposed to him a commission of extraordinary delicacy; no less than that he would undertake to persuade the Rochellois into obedience.

To the just, temperate, and disinterested spirit of La Nouë, war, unless as a means by which peace might ultimately be secured, was wholly without attraction; and notwithstanding his great military talents, and the glory which he had acquired in arms, no man was more unwilling to have recourse to the harsh reasoning of the sword. He believed, moreover, that the recent fatal blow had so far crushed the power of the Huguenots, that the Rochellois would be unable to sustain the danger which they seemed about to provoke. Somewhat also of natural and instinctive regard for self-preservation, without impugnement either of his courage or of his honour, may have contributed to influence his final resolution. The tone with which the king addressed him was that of gentleness and solicitation; but who that had ever approached the presence of Charles was ignorant of his ungovernable ferocity? What Huguenot, without well-grounded apprehension of the result, could venture to oppose the wish of a prince whose garments were so deeply dyed in the blood of martyrs? On the other hand, the artifices which had been employed to entrap Coligny were lively warnings to one so sagacious as La Nouë, that they might be repeated to a similar purpose; and he preferred dying a thousand deaths, to being made the unwitting tool by which his friends might be again cajoled and betrayed. Perceiving, then, that all efforts to decline a charge to the due execution of which he modestly but firmly professed himself to be unequal, were unavailing, and that his reluctance served but to increase the urgency of the

king, he at once, regardless of all hazard, delivered himself in the plainest language; and demanded a solemn pledge, that he should neither be made the bearer of terms which might compromise his honour, nor be used as the instrument of any meditated treachery. Charles was lavish in protestations; when indeed was he otherwise? and La Nouë, assisted by one Guadagni, a Florentine, and a creature of the queen-mother, engaged in the mission. Unable either to comprehend or to appreciate the unspotted integrity of his pure and single-minded agent, the king annexed to him this spy, under the title of colleague; and La Nouë, whose penetration fully developed the true character of his associate, rejoiced at bearing with him a witness of the sincerity of his conduct.

The first impression on the minds of the Rochellois, when they received advice of the mission of La Nouë, was unbounded astonishment; the second was suspicion of treachery. Nor can it be wondered at, that men whose ears yet painfully retained the yell of the bloodhounds whom they had escaped, and under whose eyes the chase seemed at that moment preparing for renewal, should be jealous even of a friend, when he bore the message of a perfidious foe. Still they accepted a conference which he proposed,

and their deputies, after cold salutations, listened to the king's offers; which were, in brief, the admission of Biron within their city, under a guarantee that they should retain all their former liberties. When the envoy had concluded by recommending, as his own advice, that these conditions should be accepted, he was answered with grave expressions of well-feigned surprise. "We came hither," replied the deputies, "in the expectation of seeing La Nouë; one who, a few years back, performed many great and honourable services for the truth of the Gospel. As for the person whom

we now meet, he has indeed some portion of the air, of the figure, and of the visage of our friend, but we seek in vain for those salutary words of counsel which we have so often heard from his lips. The real La Nouë never could have been so far corrupted by court promises as to advise submission to the persecutor of our faith and the murderer of our brethren.*

However deeply he might be touched by the bitterness of these sarcasms, La Nouë betrayed no outward signs of emotion, and on one point he was indeed sensibly gratified; that if the negotiation should now fail, the evidence of Guadagni must acquit him of causing the miscarriage. Meantime, within the city, after a long and probably a turbulent debate, a conviction of the unimpeached integrity of La Nouë prevailed with the majority of the council; they recognised him as their former friend and protector; and earnestly exhorting him not to abandon, in this her desolation, a church which under God he had so often before assisted, they offered three conditions to his choice. 1st, That he would undertake the command of their garrison; 2dly, that he would live among them as a private citizen, in such a house and on such revenues as the means of their community could supply; 3dly, that he would embark for England in a vessel which they would immediately equip for his transport.

These unlooked-for propositions increased his former perplexity. In what manner was he now to preserve the fidelity which he had so recently engaged to the king, and at the same time to answer that call which he believed to be from God? How should he reconcile himself to the disloyalty of taking arms against a sovereign to whom he had just vowed allegiance, and from whom he had accepted

* De Thou, lib. 12. *Amirault, Vie de la Nouë*, p. 76.

a commission? How should he satisfy that voice of conscience which denounced him as an apostate from his church, if he refused to aid her in the hour of calamity? Nay, more, if, as seemed too probable, he continued to be the chief instrument of her approaching ruin? Agitated by these and similar doubts, he asked permission to confer with some ministers, whom he named; and then taking further time for private meditation and prayer, he adopted a course most remarkable, whether it be regarded in itself or in its consequences.

After communicating with Guadagni, by whom it does not seem that he was in any way opposed, he accepted the proffered command; and, paradoxical as it doubtless must appear, he transferred himself to the hostile ranks in order more effectively to forward the wishes of his employer, and unsheathed the sword that he might become a readier minister of peace. To curb the impetuosity of the Rochellois, and to take prompt advantage of any opening which might afford hope of reconciliation, was his undissembled object in becoming their leader; and, however ambiguous and equivocal in many points was the condition to which this great and sudden change inevitably reduced him, he emerged from it, as we are assured by the general voice of his contemporaries, not only without tarnish to his honour, but even with an increase of the confidence reposed in him by each of the opposite parties whom he had served. It is not after the lapse of two centuries and a half, that any attempt must be hazarded to rescind this favourable judgment; but without a more distinct explanation of facts than we possess, to us the conduct of La Nouë must always appear questionable. The path of duty, in most cases, is plainly defined; and we have at least our choice between right and wrong. If our position be so entangled that to whatever quarter we resolve to turn *our course must* be dubious, the fault is most prob-

ably in ourselves ; and somewhere, before, we have missed our way. It was the acceptance of the king's first charge which afterward exposed La Nouë to this perilous collision of duties.

La Rochelle, according to the state of military art at the period of which we are treating, was among the strongest fortified places in France. At the head of a noble bay protected from every wind, and so capacious that all the navies in the world might ride within it at once, its own smaller harbour had draught enough to admit ships of the heaviest burthen. Two forts and a chain protected its entrance ; a wall of extraordinary massiveness, flanked with lofty towers at frequent intervals and surrounded with a deep fosse, in some parts double, enclosed the whole city in a circuit of about 3000 paces. The surrounding country offered no height from which the works might be commanded ; and the numerous tide-creeks which occur everywhere, except on the north, prevented attack by mining. The tide filled the ditches twice a day, and, on its ebb, the water was retained by flood-gates. The garrison, at the time at which La Nouë undertook the command, consisted of 3000 choice and veteran soldiers ; 2000 city militia, well equipped, and not unseasoned ; and a numerous band of noble and gallant officers, among whom the most distinguished appears to have been "Le Capitaine Normand," of Rouen. The magazines contained a profuse store of wine, biscuits, and munitions of war ; and some estimate of the general means of defence may be formed from the account which De Thou has given of the park of artillery. There were on the walls, he says, fifteen brass cannons, sixty field-pieces, and 100 of smaller caliber, most of which latter were of iron. 160,000 lbs. of powder had been already prepared for their supply, and more was daily manufactured.* The

* Iv. 16. Davila varies a little from this statement. After noticing the abundant provision of gunpowder, and the great number of muskets,

populace, a rough and hardy race employed in maritime occupations, proud of their long independence, conscious of power from the events of the former war, and at once indignant and alarmed by the occurrence of the recent massacre, were prepared for the most desperate resistance. Their hopes were keenly excited by a knowledge of the strength of their city, and by an expectation of speedy succours from England. Whenever the first sail under Montgomery should appear off the coast, they felt assured that at least a thousand of the noblesse from Poitou and Saintonge would gather to his standard. By that aid, by their own exertions, and, above all, by the favour of Heaven to a just cause and a suffering people, they doubted not of ultimate victory; and not one man breathed in their ranks who would have hesitated to sacrifice life for its attainment. Every pulpit daily resounded with the exhortations of ministers expelled from their own peculiar cures; whose zeal was doubly kindled by sorrow for their afflicted church, and by a lively sense of personal wrong. It was no easy task for La Nouë to direct to thoughts of peace the temper of a population thus eagerly inflamed and not unreasonably confident.

The Duke of Anjou was to assume the command of the royalist army on the approach of spring; and Biron, willing to leave to the young prince the whole glory of active siege, consumed the intermediate time in a languid occupation of the surrounding country, and in cutting off supplies from the garrison. During these operations, numerous mills adjoining the city were destroyed, till one alone remained, which the Captain Normand was anxious, on some account, to preserve for a few hours longer, an object in which he succeeded by a whimsical

arquebuses, and pikes which the magazines contained, he adds that there were "nove colubrine di smisurata grandezza, otto cannoni, dodici sacri, trenta otto pezzi da campagna, e più di settanta falconette moschetti." lib. v. tom. i. p. 302.

stratagem. Towards nightfall, he admitted the miller within the city walls, and placed a single soldier of determined courage in the abandoned tenement, instructing him to deceive the enemy by making loud noises and counterfeiting the tones of different voices. To assist the delusion, Normand himself called from the ramparts, urging the garrison to steadiness, and assuring it of speedy relief. Misled by these appearances, and thinking that an assault would be hazardous, the royalists beat a parley, after a few discharges of artillery; and when the soldier presented himself, they granted an honourable capitulation, in which the adroit knave, continuing his artifice to the last, with humorous gravity, expressly stipulated that his comrades should share the terms which he secured for himself. On taking possession of the surrendered post, the victors discovered to their astonishment that the parleyer had been its sole occupant; and irritated at the cheat, they summarily declared him guilty of a breach of the laws of war, and adjudged him to be hanged. Through the interposition of Biron, the sentence was commuted to the galleys, from which the prisoner soon afterward found means to escape.*

It was not till the 9th of February that the Duke of Anjou arrived in the camp; and 1573. rarely has a more brilliant company been assembled than that which followed in his train. Of the royal blood appeared the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the young Montpensier, and the Bastard of Angoulême; and among other distinguished names familiar to our narrative, may be noticed the Dukes of Guise, Aumâle, Longueville, Nevers, Bouillon, and Uzez; the Maréchals de Cossé, Montluc, and De Retz. One, indeed, was wanting who had long been used to breathe ven-

* De Thou, liv. 16. La Popelinière, tom. ii. liv. xxxii. p. 127.

geance against the Reformed, and who had vauntingly anticipated the speedy conquest of La Rochelle. When the king ordered the Maréchal de Tavannes to take a high command in the besieging army, and not to stop till the Huguenot race was exterminated,* he was assured in return that the matter might be considered as already finished. "Give yourself no trouble, sire," replied Tavannes, "I have served during six years in that country; and long as it is since I have seen La Rochelle, I reckon upon its capture within a month. Thence I will clear my way to Montauban, which will scarcely cost more time; and afterward, in Nismes and Sommières, the heretics shall look well to their consciences, and either recant or die to a man. In a word, leave me alone and I will answer for all these places."†—"Even such," says the light-hearted Brantôme, "were the discourses of King Picrocole in Rabelais, or the fond imaginations which the waking milkmaid dreamed over that pail which was to form the commencement of her immeasurable wealth." Tavannes died at Chartres, on his route to join the army; and there is good reason to believe that his last moments exhibited a fearful spectacle of rage and despair. Brantôme affects some doubt, because the fact was communicated to him by "an illustrious Huguenot prince, who had no great regard for the deceased;" but he concludes that, after all, matters might be as they were represented, since "*God often sends such afflictions to the bloody-minded.*"‡

Glittering as was the composition of the Duke of

* *Nous ne sommes pas encore au bout de tous les Huguenots, bien que nous en ayons fort esclairey la race.* Brantôme, *Discours* lxxxli. 5. tom. vi. ad fin.

† *Id. ibid.* And so also in his son's *Memoires*, Tavannes is made to assure the king that if he does but give La Rochelle dix milles coups de canon avant que l'hyver vienne, n'ayant que les gens de la ville là dedans, il est à presumer qu'ils parleroient un autre langage. p. 442.

‡ *Ut suprâ.*

Anjou's army, the very splendour of its materials contributed to render it unfit for success ; and want of discipline and of subordination led to desultory and uncombined attacks, in which, after numerous displays of individual gallantry, the general strength insensibly wasted away, without any advance of the main enterprise. Among the earliest heavy losses which the royalists sustained was that of the Duke of Aumâle, killed by a cannon-ball at the close of a long sortie.* His death afforded an interminable theme to the preachers in La Rochelle, who saw in it nothing less than the visible hand of Providence, and proclaimed it as an undoubted judgment inflicted immediately by God, upon one who had taken so large a personal share in the murder of Coligny.†

This delusion is not without frequent parallels in history ; for man is ever too forward to cry " God with us," and to identify his own quarrel with that of Heaven. There have been seasons, indeed, in which special Providences have been appropriated with as little regard to truth and reason, as the scoffer, the skeptic, and the infidel exhibit in the denial of any Providential interference at all. But it may be feared in the instance before us, that the fierce passions which had been engendered or encouraged by a long continuance of civil discord, now exercised scarcely less evil influence over the persecuted than over the persecutors themselves ;

* De Thou, lvi. 4.

† Walsingham writes to England much to the same effect. " In the which skirmish Duke d'Aumâle and Scavigur were slain, two of the chiefest executors of the murthers here. God, of his good blessing, doth give us some hope that the blood of the innocent shall not be unrevengeed."—Digges, p. 332. Even Brantôme connects the fate of D'Aumâle with his former cruelty. At La Rochelle, he says, the duke frequently expressed a presentiment of his approaching death. "*Voicy le lieu où je mourray.*" *Son Démon possible le luy faisoit dire, ou qu'il sentit en sa conscience je ne scay quoy, pour avoir esté un peu cruel (disoit-on) au Massacre de Paris sur les Huguenots qu'il espargna peu.* Discours lxxviii. tom. vi. p. 263.

that acuteness of suffering had produced a callousness of heart in the sufferers, which resisted all the mild droppings of the dews of charity; and that the voice of mercy which the gospel gently breathed was overpowered by the hoarse clang and dissonance of arms. The ministers in La Rochelle openly preached, not only that it would be sinful to make any peace with the Romanists, but even that quarter should be denied to prisoners;* and that they should be hewn in pieces as Samuel hewed the Amalekites. The task which La Nouë had assigned to himself became, therefore, more hopeless every hour; and chagrined at his failure, perhaps not without some secret misgiving of the propriety of the course which he had chosen,† he was foremost in every sortie, and combated as one eager to shake off a life which pressed upon him as a wearisome burden.

The arguments with which he enforced the necessity of peace upon the civic council, and the answers which he received from the Huguenot divines, evince his own coolness and foresight, in marked contrast with the blindness and the heat of his opponents. Military experience had taught him that no fortress could eventually maintain itself against a siege pressed obstinately by a powerful enemy, unless it were relieved by an army sufficiently strong either to create a diversion or to fight a battle. He perceived that no hope existed of such an army being collected by the Huguenots themselves; that the policy of England was manifestly pacific; that Germany would not move unless allured by subsidies, which the Reformed had not means of paying; and that even if she were to take the field, without the hope of gold, no army could traverse the whole of France, from the borders of

* Meurisse, liv. ii. p. 384. De Thou, liv. 5.

† *Neutri parti suspectus, sibi minus satisfaciens.* De Thou, liv. 4.

the Rhine to the sea, pass all the intervening rivers, and avoid or gain all the battles which would be offered, in sufficient time to deliver a city, on the counterscarp of which the enemy had already effected a lodgment. The ultimate storm or surrender of La Rochelle appeared, therefore, to be certain; and her downfall, he added, would prelude the destruction of every other Reformed Church in the kingdom; for little mercy could be expected from a victorious enemy irritated by a resistance which would be called obstinate rebellion. On the other hand, far gentler treatment might be secured by negotiation, both for themselves and for their brethren.

The rejoinder of the ministers commenced with a somewhat tedious exposition of the unity of the Church of Christ, which peremptorily forbade the acceptance of any advantage for their own city from which others of the same communion should be excluded. This position was fortified by reference to the conduct of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Located beyond Jordan, those settlers had not any personal interest in the struggle which the other tribes were maintaining against the native Canaanites; nevertheless, *they passed over armed before the children of Israel, all that were meet for war,** neither did they return to their tents and to the land of their possession till the Lord had given rest to their brethren.† So also Uriah, touched with like attachment for those of the same blood and faith with himself, refused to go into his house, and rather slept at the door of the king's palace, because *the Ark, and Israel, and Judah abode in tents, and the servants of the Lord were encamped in open fields.‡* If the ties of brotherhood were thus powerful to knit together the Jews, how much more binding, it was said, ought they to be between Christians! The necessity of keeping the

* Deuteronomy iii. 18.

† Joshua xxi. 4.

‡ 2 Samuel xi. 11.

oath by which they were pledged to the citizens of Nismes and of Montauban, a necessity which no one was likely to dispute, was established on the Scriptural precedent of Joshua's fidelity to the Gibeonites, because he had sworn with them, notwithstanding they had beguiled him into the league.* And it was argued that even if La Rochelle were in fact reduced to so great straits as had been too hastily imagined, it should be remembered that God delights to perform miracles in favour of those who put their whole trust in him; that although women did eat their children during the siege of Samaria, nevertheless that city was delivered from its enemies; and, if they might venture to draw an authority from the Apocryphal books, that Judith spake wisely when she rebuked the Governor of Bethulia, for *binding the counsels of God*, and promising to surrender unless help should come in five days.† The last and the only rational argument which they offered was drawn from their actual means of defence, which were declared to be amply sufficient to maintain the siege for three months longer.

Little hope could be entertained of producing conviction in zealots who thus persisted in applying, without modification, to the political affairs of the XVIth century, those maxims by which the theocracy had been regulated. One particular only appeared to merit answer. "I *do* confide in God," replied La Nouë, "with my whole heart; but I am unable to obtain other demonstrations of His will than those which he vouchsafes to afford by outward occurrences. He has given us reason as our guide in these matters, and it is utterly presumptuous to expect that He will work miracles in our behalf, when we are without any promise that they shall be

* Joshua ix.

† Judith viii.

performed.”* This sober argument was ill adapted to the fanaticism of his auditors; and one of the ministers, La Place, pursued him from the council-chamber to his lodging with opprobrious epithets; and when he had exhausted all the strongest terms which language affords in accusing him of treacherous correspondence, he consummated the outrage by a blow. The scene which ensued reminds us of a similar well-known anecdote recorded of Themistocles;† and it might be thought that the example of that great Athenian had not been forgotten by La Nouë, if the many Christian graces by which his character is distinguished did not convince us that his lesson of forbearance had been derived from a far higher source. He first calmly interposed, to prevent the anger of the by-standers from inflicting summary punishment upon the offender; and he then sent him home, safely guarded, to his wife, with a suggestion, that if her husband were allowed in future to go abroad, he should be observed by a keeper. La Place was of honourable birth and advanced in years; and it seems probable that this violence was indeed a symptom of incipient derangement; for the commission of other furious acts, which rendered his insanity unquestionable, ere long occasioned his deposition from the ministry.‡

Despairing of success in the object which he had proposed to himself when he assumed the command of La Rochelle, La Nouë now anxiously sought an opening by which he might escape his onerous and unprofitable charge. Such an opportunity was afforded by the receipt of despatches from England, in which Montgomery notified his speedy approach with a very considerable armament. Little cordiality subsisted between these two leaders; and La

* *Amirault*, p. 91.

† With Eurybiades, the Spartan, who threatened him with his staff, and received for answer, “Strike, but hear!” It is to be wished that Herodotus had corroborated Plutarch in this fine anecdote.

‡ *Amirault*, p. 92, 93. *De Thou*, lvi. 5.

Nouë, apprehensive that the spirit of faction by which the city was already torn asunder might derive increase from their probable collision, and satisfied that a fit successor being at hand, he could not be accused of abandoning the helm without the guidance of any pilot, determined to withdraw: and demanding a safe-conduct from the Duke of Anjou, was received within his lines.*

The long protraction of the siege had been severely felt in the royal camp, and the troops began to murmur at arrears of pay, at scantiness of supplies, and at the ravages of disease. To divert their minds from these just causes of discontent, an assault was ordered at the first moment at which a breach became practicable. The impetuosity of the young nobles by whom the

camp was thronged occasioned some disorder in the leading column; and after a bloody conflict, in which the women of the garrison displayed a masculine courage, the assailants were repulsed with fearful loss. Two subsequent attempts were equally unsuccessful; and, in both of them, these heroines were not less distinguished than before. Some rolled huge stones from the ramparts; others scattered grenades upon the assailants; part fought hand to hand with lances; a few even descended

* De Thou, *ibid.* Davila has described the retirement of La Nouë very much as if he wished it to be considered an act of desertion, lib. v. tom. i. p. 307; and there are some expressions in Walsingham's despatches which give it an ambiguous appearance. He writes, that he has heard "La Nouë escaped very hardly out of the town, with the safety of his life."—Digges, p. 344. And again, that the Rochellois "as yet continue still resolute never to yield, notwithstanding La Nouë's abandoning of them. I am very sorry to condemn that gentleman, though he be very generally condemned by others, until I hear what he can say for himself. If he be not well able to excuse this his doing in this behalf, I will learn thereby the less to build upon any man, who I perceive, when God withdraweth His staying hand, are more weak than weakness itself. This example, therefore, and others, are to teach us to build upon God, and to weigh man as he is."—p. 345.

The king, in a despatch to La Motte Fenelon, expresses great satisfaction at the step which La Nouë had taken. *Correspondence in vol. 22. of Mém. de Castelneau*, p. 351.

into the ditch, to terminate the sufferings of the wounded or to spoil the dead; and in every interval during which a brief pause in the thunder of the artillery permitted any other sound to be distinguished, their voices were heard loudly and bitterly inveighing against the combatants with whom they were engaged.* Brilliant as were these successes, they perhaps occasioned less joy in the garrison than the death of one individual who fell soon after them. "Cosseins," says Brantôme (whom on this occasion we may implicitly trust, for he was present during the whole siege, and was intimately acquainted with the person of whom he is speaking), "was grievously depressed after the massacre of Paris. His conduct at La Rochelle evinced that he was bowed down with melancholy and remorse; and more than once he avowed to his friends a presentiment of his approaching end. On the night which proved fatal to him, he had been ordered to make a reconnoissance of an obscure spot, from which the enemy seldom fired; and, indeed, during that whole night not more than two arquebuses were discharged, the contents of one of which he received. When the shot struck him, he cursed the remembrance of the St. Bartholomew, and died within two days afterward. The king, notwithstanding the great services which he had formerly rendered, received the intelligence of his loss unconcernedly, and spoke before the whole court coarsely and contemptuously† of the want of spirit which he had shown, and of the difficulties which he had constantly suggested when any project of attack was offered by the Duke of Anjou. Those difficulties," adds Brantôme, "most probably arose from superior military knowledge, and from a per-

* De Thou, lvi. 5, 7, 9.

† "*Il n'y a montré plus de cœur qu'une putain*"—*usant de ces mots*
—*Discours lxxxix.* 11, tom. vii. p. 423.

ception of the gross faults which were hourly committed."*

April 22. The fleet under Montgomery, amounting to fifty-three sail, at length appeared in the bay; their numbers, indeed, were greater than those of the royalists, but the vessels were much inferior in equipment and sea-worthiness, and the crews in discipline. Twelve hundred armed men were on board; a motley gathering of French, Belgians, and English; the last of whom were declared by Elizabeth, when the ambassador of Charles remonstrated upon her having permitted their embarkation, to be no other than thieves and outlaws, whom she should gladly see executed for piracy.† It is probable that her declaration was not very remote from truth; for Montgomery, influenced no doubt by want of confidence in his followers, notwithstanding he possessed the advantage both of wind and tide, declined any attempt to enter the harbour of La Rochelle, avoided an engagement, and contented himself with landing and throwing up intrenchments at Belle Isle, at the mouth of the Loire.

It was from disaffection in his own ranks, rather than from any increase of strength in those of his enemy, that the Duke of Anjou's chief difficulty now arose. His younger brother, the Duke of Alençon, either jealous of a superior, or sincere in the deep regret which he had ever expressed for the murder of Coligny, who had been his friend, was actively employed in the formation of a dangerous party. There were many of high rank in the camp who, having long ill-brooked the ascendancy of Catherine and the Guises, regarded the late massacre with horror; and a union of these *Politiques*, as they were termed, with the Bourbon princes and the Huguenots, was negotiated by Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vi-

* *Id. ibid.*

† De Thou, lvi. 6.

comte de Turenne:* a youth who at seventeen years of age appears to have been a marvel both of enterprise and of sagacity. The projects, nevertheless, suggested from time to time by Alençon and his faction, were rash and perilous ; and but for the sound discretion of La Nouë, to whom they were communicated, might have led to their speedy destruction. At one moment it was resolved to attack the royal fleet ; after which Alençon was to declare himself protector of the Religion. A yet wilder scheme was to throw themselves into Montgomery's ships, and to seek an asylum in England. When this proposal was first opened at a council of the leaders assembled on horseback near the camp, it was strongly and peremptorily rejected by La Nouë. How, he inquired, could they first ascertain the feelings of the English sailors ?—or how, supposing they should be cordially received by them, could they answer for the intentions of Elizabeth herself ! Was it likely that she, who had always cultivated peace, would embarrass herself in war to gratify their discontent, more especially at a moment in which she had just renewed her ancient alliance with France ? Would it not derogate from their illustrious birth and quality ?—might it not hazard both their lives and their honour, if they wandered into foreign states as fugitives and suppliants ? Doubtless no princess in the world exceeded the Queen of England in courtesy, but might not political relations compel her either to refuse them admission to her presence, or, if she did admit them, to offer some reprimand which it would ill become them to endure ? Even granting that she might afford succour, it must be given scantily and by stealth ; and it must be such as would in the end rather mar than assist both their reputation and their designs. His advice, therefore, was, that being assured of each other's fidelity, they

* Father of the great Maréchal de Turenne, and himself afterward one of the most distinguished generals in the service of Henry IV.

should await a more favourable season before they openly declared themselves. These arguments of the peace-maker were unanswerable, and for a while his gray-haired wisdom was listened to and obeyed.

May 26. In a ninth and final assault, the royalists, having been led five times to the breach, were as often driven back, after piling it with their dead; and the Duke of Anjou, thenceforward abandoning every hope of winning the city, looked only for some excuse which might allow him to raise the siege without dishonour. The seasonable announcement of his election to the throne of Poland permitted a negotiation, in which it was not necessary that defeat should be confessed; and after a brief show of further hostility, he opened conferences with the governor. The treaty approached the close which he desired, when one of the unforeseen chances of war nearly terminated his career. While, accompanied by the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon, he was going round the trenches, two small pieces of ordnance were discharged from the ramparts. The contents of one of them struck him in the neck, the left hand, and the thigh; but the bullets, being small, were spent, and he escaped uninjured. La Garde, one of his favourite attendants, perceived the flash of the second cannon in time to throw himself before his master; and he received a severe wound, which, but for the rare skill of the surgeon, and, as was also believed, for the employment of charms,* would have proved mortal. On the 10th of July, Biron was admitted into La Rochelle, and proclaimed the terms of peace. They declared a general amnesty for the past; a free permission for the exercise of the Reformed worship within the cities of Nismes, Montauban, and La Rochelle; an

* *Pœne lethaliter in præcordiis ictus est, quo ex vulnere raro medicorum studio et incantamentis, ut creditur, curatus, convaleuit. De Thou, lvi. 10.*

annulment of all compulsory recantations, and of all judicial sentences passed against the Huguenots during the late war; and a restoration of any dignities and offices of which they might have been deprived. The three cities, in return, consented, without any impeachment of their former immunities, to receive governors appointed by the king, provided they were free from suspicion; and for the next two years to send four of the chief inhabitants of each, selected at the royal pleasure, to reside as hostages at the court.

Thus, after nine months' investment by a mighty host, composed of the best troops and the chief nobility of France; the loss of 40,000 men by disease and casualty, among whom were numbered sixty officers of distinction; and a ruinous expenditure both of stores and money,* the king was forced to compromise with La Rochelle. The gallantry of the defence cannot be too highly appreciated; and yet, but for want of union and of military skill among the besiegers, it is not to be doubted that a widely different result would have verified the prognostic and fully justified the advice of La Nouë.†

* De Thou, lvi. 10. Davila reduces the loss to one-half De Thou's number, lib. v. tom. i. p. 309. Respecting the officers, Pasquier expresses himself in terms which perhaps bear a covert allusion to the share of the Duke d'Aumale and of Coesens in the St. Bartholomew. *Nos principes tueurs ont esté tuez.*—Lett. liv. v. tom. i. p. 318. Very copious details of this siege of La Rochelle may be found in La Popelinere, liv. xxxi. li. iii. iv. and v.

† De Thou, who is very far from being an injudicious recorder of indiscriminate marvels, notices a remarkable fact, which we can little be surprised that the Huguenots interpreted as a special providence exercised in their behalf. During the whole course of the siege, an unusual quantity of shellfish (*surdones, ostreorum seu pectunculorum id genus est*) supplied the poorer inhabitants with abundant food; and at the very moment after the peace they disappeared. lvi. 10. The naturalists of the day explained this singular occurrence, by stating that the shellfish were driven into the harbour by the shock of the cannonade. La Popelinere, tom. ii. liv. xxxv. p. 173. But it was employed by one of our own divines as a good "testification that the Lord of hosts would leave a remnant, even a seed of His faithful in that land."—*Lecture xv. delivered at Oxford by (Archbishop) Abbot, cited by Strype, Annals of Elizabeth*, vol. ii. book i. ch. 26.

*Quod optanti divum promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en, attulit ultro.*

At Sancerre, which had not been included in the treaty of La Rochelle, hostilities were further prolonged. That devoted city, after its siege had been converted into a blockade, endured for a considerable time the extremities of a famine, not less severe than those which once desolated Saguntum and Numantia; and which renewed the horrors recorded of Samaria and of Jerusalem, when afflicted by a similar calamity. Not many more than eighty of its inhabitants fell in combat, but those who perished by want of food exceeded five hundred: so that the famine, during its six weeks' continuance, killed more than six times as many as fell beneath the sword during seven months and a half of war. Still unbroken in their constancy, the citizens continued to resist, and not a whisper was ever breathed which hinted at surrender. The ministers took an equal share in the common toil; cheerfully exposed their persons to the general danger, and never for one evening omitted the service of public prayer and exhortation. Among those most distinguished for activity was Jean de Léry, pastor of La Charité, the former historian of Villegagnon's Expedition to Brazil,* and the journalist from whose pen we derive our knowledge of the daily occurrences of this siege.† To his experience in America the garrison was indebted for a useful suggestion, which contributed greatly to its relief. Instead of sleeping on the bare ground, exposed to cold, vermin, and unwholesome damps, the soldiers not on guard suspended their hammocks from poles fixed beneath

* Vol. i. p. 68.

† *Ib.* *Histoire memorable de la Ville de Sancerre, contenant les Entreprises, Siege, Approches, Boteries, Assaux, et autres efforts des assiégeans: les resistances, faits magnanimes, la famine extreme et delivrance notable des assiégés. Le nombre des coups de canons par journées distinguées. Le Catalogue des morts et blessez sont à la fin du livre. Sine loco, 1574.*

the breastwork of the ramparts, after the fashion of the Brazilians in their native forests.* To extract L  ry's account of the fearful crime to which we have already made allusion, and of the certainty of the commission of which, himself, unhappily, received too assured ocular testimony, would be unnecessarily painful. So great was the horror which it excited amid the starving population, that the unnatural parents were condemned to death: the father was burned alive, and the mother and a wretched beldam residing with them, who had prompted the deed and overcome their scruples, were strangled at the gibbet.†

In the remainder of L  ry's narrative, we know not whether more to commiserate the destitution which compelled recourse to the several expedients which he has described, or to admire the unbroken cheerfulness and equanimity with which he records his sufferings. While their magazines were yet unexhausted, the garrison was one day engaged with its enemies for the possession of a luxury. During a long cannonade, five deer, terrified by the thunder of artillery, dashed from a neighbouring wood through the lines, and penetrated to the fosse. One of them was immediately shot and carried into the city; another occasioned a long and bloody contest, and the prize was not won by the besiegers without the sacrifice of many lives. Its loss was avenged by a sarcasm, in which L  ry remarks that the Romanists ate the venison with right good-will, notwithstanding the season was Lent.‡ But alas! a struggle was soon about to commence for the mere support of nature. The *carle* (if we may use that term without an appearance of levity unbecom-

* *Histoire de Sancerre*, p. 83.

† *Id.* p. 146. It is no slight extenuation that murder was not imputed to any of the parties. The child, three years of age, was said to have died naturally, if death resulting from famine may be called natural.

‡ *Id.* p. 86.

ting so melancholy a narrative) which Léry has preserved is not a little curious, as showing the order in which unusual and revolting substances were applied to the purposes of food. Strange to say, their various recommendations to the palate are explained in it, with as much fulness and precision as would be employed by a professed gastronomist in advertising some newly discovered dainty. An ass was the first animal not ordinarily eaten which was driven to the shambles, and its flesh is pronounced inferior to that of the horse; then cats, rats, moles, and mice succeeded. Of dogs, the greyhound was considered the most delicate; and unweaned puppies were ranked as equal to kidlings and sucking pigs. The skins of animals, scraped and macerated in water, appear to have been held in great esteem; and when those fresher viands were exhausted, family archives were ransacked to furnish edible parchments; and title-deeds more than a century old were sacrificed to the cravings of appetite. "Often," says Léry, "have I read engrossed characters uneffaced by cooking, on the morsel which was about to be devoured with insatiable eagerness."*

* The greater part of Lery's xth chapter may be termed a *Cookery Book for the Besieged*. The following are some of its notices, which, as his volume is of rare occurrence, we do not hesitate to transcribe. Un Assne . . . fut trouvé bon de tous ceux qui en mangerent, tant bouilli que rosti, et mis en paste, mais sur tout le foye rosti avec cloux de girofle fut trouvé comme un foye de veau . . . Or je diray ici que la chair de cheval, par le rapport de ceux qui l'ont mieux goustée, est meilleure que celle d'Assnes, ny de Mulets. Car encore qu'elle soit plus molasse crue, quand elle est cuite, elle est plus ferme; et convient mieux à son naturel d'estre bouillie que rostie. Que si on veut que le potage en soit bon, soit qu'on la mette au pot fresque ou salée, il la faut faire cuire plus long temps que le bœuf. Le goust participe de la chair de porc, mais plus approchant de celle de bœuf. Si on la met en paste il ne faut faire cuire ny bouillir auparavant, ains la mettre crue dans la crouste, après avoir trempé en vinaigre, sel et especes. La graisse est comme avue de porc, et ne se prend point. La langue est delicate, et le foye encore plus. . . Plusieurs se prirent à chasser aux Rats, Toupes, et Souris: (la faim qui les pressoit leur faisant incontinent trouver l'invention de toutes sortes de ratoières) mais sur tout vous eussiez veu les pauvres enfans bien aises quand ils pouvoient avoir quelques souris, les quels

The arrival of the Polish ambassadors at Paris at length obtained for Sancerre that capitulation which had hitherto been refused; but the terms were less gentle than those which had been granted to La Rochelle.* Amnesty, indeed, and the free exercise of religion were conceded; Aug. 19. but the moveable property of the inhabitants was to be redeemed by a fine of 40,000 livres, payable in six days or earlier, to be distributed among the wounded besiegers. The royal governor, on his entrance, stripped the churches of their clocks and bells, razed the gates, and dismantled the fortifications; and whether by treacherous collusion, or, as was asserted, by the outrage of robbers, only a few days elapsed before the bailli, who had commanded during the siege, was murdered by night in the streets, as in obedience to the governor's summons he was repairing to his quarters;† and the town minister, Pierre de la Bourgarde, together with his wife, was assassinated in the suburbs.

ils faisoient cuire sur les charbons (le plus souvent sans les escorcher ny vulder) et à une grande avidité les devoient plustost qu'ils ne les mangeoyent; et n'y avoit queue, patte ny peau de rat qui ne fut soudainement recueillie pour servir de nourriture à une grande multitude de pauvres souffreteux. Aucuns trouvoient les rats rostis merveilleusement bons, mais encores estoient ils meilleurs à l'estuvée.

Non seulement les peaux de parchmin blanc furent mangées, mais aussi les lettres, tiltres, livres imprimées et escripts en main, ne faisant difficulté de manger les plus vieux et anciens de cent à six vingt ans. La façon de les apprester, estoit de les faire tremper un jour ou deux, (selon que la nécessité le permettoit) les changer souvent d'eaux, les bien racler avec un couteau: puis les faisoit-on bouillir un jour ou un demy-jour, et jusques à ce qu'ils fussent attendris et amollis: ce qui cognoissoit lors qu'en les rompant et tirant avec les doigts on les voyoit glutineux: et ainsi on les fricassoit comme tripes, ou bien on les apprestoit avec herbes et especes en façon de hochepot: mêmes les soldats par les corps de garde et autres par la ville les frottoient et graissoient du suif de la chandelle, et les ayans mis un peu griller sur les charbons les mangeoyent ainsi. J'en ay aussi veu manger où les caracteres imprimez et escripts en main apparroissoient encores et pouvoit-on lire dans les morceaux qui estoient au plat tous prests à manger.—*Id.* p. 138.

* The capitulation is printed in *Mém. de l'estat*, tom. ii. p. 347.

† De Thou, lvi. 16. Davila says that the bailli was found dead in a well; and that opinions were divided as to whether he had been assassinated, or had committed suicide. *Lib. v. tom. i. p. 312.*

The intrigues by which the gold of France and the consummate ability of her diplomatist, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, had obtained for the Duke of Anjou the vacant elective crown of Poland, belong but slightly to our narrative. The chief obstacle to his success arose from the horror naturally aroused by the great share ascribed to him in the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and the influence both of the German Protestants and of a powerful native Reformed party was accordingly exerted to the utmost, but in vain, to frustrate his election. But the prize, however glittering and attractive when it was first sought, had lost much of its value in the eyes of the winner at the moment in which it was gained. Henry, from his birth, had been the favourite son with the queen-mother; and she had spared neither cost nor toil to secure for him this aggrandizement. Perceiving that Charles regarded him with jealousy, she dreaded the consequences of a probable open rupture; and yielding also to the credulous weakness with which she esteemed the idle predictions of judicial astrology as the certain decrees of fate, she saw verified in Poland, so far as Henry was concerned, that prophecy of Nostradamus, which had assured her that all her sons should be kings.* Of the succession in France, there was at that time little prospect for him; for Charles was in the full vigour of youth, and seemed likely to have a numerous issue. But the lapse of a few months produced a rapid and most unexpected change. The queen had borne a daughter; the health of the king was manifestly and rapidly declining, and a golden perspective opened upon Henry in his native country. Much, however, it

* De Thou, xciv. 3. Brantôme, *Discours* lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 220. Where he strives hard to save the prophet's credit, by showing that the great power obtained by the Duke of Alençon in the Low Countries entitles him also to be considered a king, not less than his three brothers, who were absolutely crowned.

was plain, would depend upon his presence on the spot in case of the king's demise ; for the restless and ambitious spirit of his brother of Alençon might dispute the crown with a claimant in a remote country ; and the numerous malecontents, whether on account of civil or religious grievances, the Huguenots no less than the *Politiques*, would probably acquiesce and assist in his usurpation.

It was slowly, therefore, and with undissembled reluctance, that the new king Sept. 28. set forward to his dominions ; and his parting from Catherine, who accompanied him to the frontiers, resembled the farewell of an exile expelled from a beloved home, rather than the first step in the progress of a youthful monarch hastening to the festivities of his coronation. The pomp which distinguished his journey, as he traversed the German States, was far from being unmixed with painful and insulting adventures. At the court of the Elector Palatine, Frederic III. (a zealous Calvinist, whom we have already seen in active union with the Huguenots), he was received with cold respect ; and only those marks of honour were paid to him which seemed exacted by the dignity of his station. An alarm of fire disturbed his first night's repose in the palace, and excited a suspicion of some intended violence. But the spirit of the count, his entertainer, too sincere for treachery,* had prepared an open and undisguised expression of the sentiments which he cherished. Leading the royal guest to his picture-gallery, the elector placed him in front of a portrait hidden by a curtain : it was that of Coligny ; and when the veil was drawn aside, the palatine asked Henry if he did not recognise the greatest captain of his time, and if he were ignorant of the loss which France had sustained by his murder ! The king stammered some excuse, and would

* *Antique severitatis et ab omni furo alienus.*—De Thou, liv. 11.

have talked of the Huguenot conspiracy which occasioned the massacre ; but the count stopped him short, and briefly replying, " We know all that story, sire," led the way from the cabinet.*

CHAPTER XIII.

Demands of the Huguenots rejected—Proposed Union with the Politiques—The Huguenots arm—Failure of an Attempt to carry off the Duke of Alençon—Policy of Catherine—Hasty Flight of the Court from St. Germain's—Execution of La Molle and Coconnas—Attempt to implicate the Bourbon Princes—Escape of Condé—Capture of Montgomery—Death of Charles IX.—Regency of Catherine—Execution of Montgomery—Truce—Conferences at Milhau—Return of Henry III. from Poland—Union between the Huguenots and Politiques—Effeminacy and Superstition of the King—Death of the Cardinal of Lorraine—War renewed—Capture and Execution of Montbrun—The Duke of Alençon treats with both the Huguenots and the Pope—Truce—Disorder of the Finances—Bold Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris—Escape of the King of Navarre—Formidable Army of the Insurgents—Peace of Valéry—Dissatisfaction occasioned by it.

LEAVING Henry in his splendid banishment, we return to France, where the nominal peace had not by any means restored tranquillity. Even before the King of Poland's departure, frequent breaches of the treaty of La Rochelle had induced the Huguenots

to present a remonstrance to the throne, Aug. 24. the terms of which appear to have evinced much confidence in their strength. They demanded that the cautionary towns should be garrisoned by their own troops, paid out of the royal treasury ; and that two other towns in every province, selected by a committee chosen from both religions, should be placed in like manner in their hands ; that liberty of conscience should be extended unrestrictedly throughout the whole kingdom ; that a council of

* *Id. ibid.* Brantôme, *Discours* lxxix. tom. vi. p. 321.

Huguenots should be established to take cognizance of all legal processes among those of the Religion ; that their ministers might claim tithes ; that the advisers and agents of the St. Bartholomew should be severely punished ; that the marriages of priests and monks, who had abjured Romanism, should be recognised, and their children legitimated ; and that guardians might educate their orphan wards born from Reformed parents in their family religion. How oppressive was the yoke under which the Huguenots still groaned will be at once perceived from several of the immunities here asked ; but their prayer was heard with surprise, and dismissed with haughtiness. " If your Condé," replied Charles, " were alive again, and occupied the heart of my kingdom and its principal fortresses, with 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot, he would not dare to propose one-half of these insolent conditions."*

A treacherous attempt to surprise La Rochelle increased the dissatisfaction of the Huguenots. The plot, indeed, when discovered, was sedulously disavowed by the king,† and the conspirators were executed ; but La Nouë foreseeing a renewal of former troubles, anxiously sought to strengthen his party against the approaching season of danger. An alliance with the *Politiques*, similar to that already projected during the siege of La Rochelle, appeared to him to promise the readiest hope of safety ; and on this point he consulted with one now rising into a celebrity which will hereafter make him conspicuous in our story. Philippe, Seigneur Du Plessis-Mornay, of an honourable family in the Vexin, had been carefully educated in the Reformed faith ; and

* De Thou, liv. 8.

† Charles was most anxious to remove all suspicion from the mind of Queen Elizabeth that he had authorized this treachery. The expressions which he employs in a despatch and in a *mémoire* of instructions to his ambassador La Motte-Fenelon are unusually strong. Dec. 29, 1573. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. iii. p. 368, 370.

being in Paris during the massacre, had escaped unharmed through a series of adventures, vividly detailed in a striking and affecting narrative from the pen of his wife.* His great merits, at the early age of five-and-twenty, were already well known to La Nouë; and no higher testimony of them can be offered, than that in his present doubts that wise and upright veteran had recourse to his youthful friend, and invited him from England, in which country he had found refuge, in order to assist his deliberations.† That they disagreed occasioned no interruption of their mutual esteem. De Mornay argued that the wrongs of the Huguenots were too far removed in their nature from the discontent of the Duke of Alençon to permit sincere accordance in the views of the two parties; that it would be difficult to escape corruption, if they blended civil with religious grievances; and that it was a profanation to mingle worldly interests with those which were altogether heavenly. La Nouë urged, on the other hand, that the two parties might act in concert, because their objects, although different, were by no means contrary; that corruption was not more to be apprehended by meeting in the same army than in the same court; for that escape from it must, in all cases, depend upon the disposition of individuals; and that since the cause of religion, although heavenly, could be advanced no otherwise than by worldly instruments, it was ill policy to quarrel with those means which Providence had thrown in our way.‡

The event, indeed, fully justified Du Plessis-Mornay's judgment; but he lent his personal assistance to the project which he disapproved. The Huguenots armed, and published a manifesto recounting

* *Mémoires de M. du Plessis-Mornay*, in the 1st volume of his *Correspondence*, p. 39-45.

† *Id.* 73. Amirault, p. 101.

‡ Amirault, p. 112.

their grievances ; opened communication with Alençon ; and signally failed in a premature and ill-arranged attempt to carry him off from the court at St. Germain's, in order that he might assume the command in some distant province. In this enterprise of the *Mardi-gras* (Shrove Tues-^{1574.} day), as it was named from the season ^{March 10.} chosen for its execution, two hundred horse were appointed in order to facilitate the escape of Alençon; a number insufficient in case of resistance, but more than enough to excite reasonable suspicion. Owing to another mismanagement, this force appeared at St. Germain's several days before the appointed time ; and La Molle, the chief confidant of the duke, and the prime agent in the plot, terrified at the irresolution which his master displayed, denounced the whole intrigue to the queen-mother, in order to make a merit of a discovery which he believed to be inevitable. The politic spirit of Catherine perceived at a glance the great advantages which she might derive from exaggerating this conspiracy. It afforded her a pretext for securing the persons of those whom she most feared ; and of thus consolidating her power at the very moment in which the king's probable demise might occasion its overthrow. Affecting, therefore, the most unbounded alarm, she declared that a plot had been discovered against the king's life. The scene which followed, in some respects, brings to mind that which ensued after the similarly abortive attempt at Meaux ; and Charles appears to have regarded both enterprises with equal indignation. Every recess and hiding-place in the palace was searched with care ; and it was resolved not to lose one moment in quitting an abode of evil omen, the Saint Germain's, against which Catherine affirmed that she had ever been warned by the general voice of her astrologers.*

* De Thou, liv. 15. So great was Catherine's faith in this warning,

Orders were accordingly given for the instant departure of the royal household to Paris, and the removal commenced in haste, terror, and confusion. "Then might you see," writes D'Aubigné, to whose caustic wit such a theme afforded infinite scope for pleasantry, "cardinals and courtiers bestriding manéged steeds, grasping their pommels with both hands, and less frightened at their foes than at their horses."* The queen-mother placed the King of Navarre and the Duke of Alençon in her own carriage; and the unhappy Charles, languishing under the agonies of a cruel and incurable disease, was taken from his bed at two in the morning and carried to a litter.† "Could they not have waited a few hours longer for my death! this is bearing too hard upon me!" was his piteous remark, as he began this last and most distressing journey.‡

La Molle, the handsomest man of his time, and the Count de Coconnas, a Piedmontese nobleman, both in Alençon's suite, together with several minor agents in the conspiracy, were executed, after having undergone the question.§ In the possession of La Molle was found a small waxen

that she not only as much as possible avoided residence in St. Germain en Laye, but she built a palace (now the Hôtel de Soissons) in the parish of St. Eustache, in order that she might escape from the Louvre in St. Germain d'Auxerrois. After all, she is said to have received the *viaticum* from a priest named St. Germain, confessor to Henry III. Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. xiii. 8, tom. ii. p. 31. De Thou, xciv. 3.

* *Histoire Universelle*, tom. ii. liv. ii. c. 6. p. 685; and to the same purpose, *Mém. de l'estat*, tom. iii. p. 143. *les uns à cheval, la plupart à pié, quelque qualité et grandeur qu'il y eut en leurs personnes, et plusieurs renconisez les uns sans bottes, les autres sans chausses, et les autres sans souliers.*

† *Mém. de la Reyne Marguerite*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 78.

‡ "Au moins s'ils eussent attendu ma mort! C'est trop m'en vouloir!" Brantôme, *Discours* lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 210.

§ The Cardinal of Bourbon told the Duke of Nevers, that Catherine herself had stated to him, that on visiting the Duke of Anjou when in bed, on the night of La Molle's execution, she dared not approach near him, from an apprehension that he would stab her. *Journal des Premiers Estats de Blois*, par M. le Duc de Nevers, among the *Preuves du Journal de Henri III.* tom. iii. p. 303.

image, said to resemble the king. The heart was pierced with a needle; and the superstition of the time easily accredited a rumour, which derived strength from the king's illness, that it was a talisman by which, as it should be made to waste away, Charles would also gradually decline. The prisoner avowed that it was indeed a talisman, but one employed for widely different purposes; that it had been framed for him by Cosmo Ruggieri, a Florentine astrologer of note, in order that he might, by magical sympathy, obtain the affection of a lady of whom he was enamoured. Scandal affirmed that lady to be Margaret Queen of Navarre; and both she and the Duchess of Nevers, of whom Coconnas was a similar favourite, are said to have obtained their lover's head after execution, either to embalm or to bury it.* Cosmo appears to have been a spy placed by Catherine in the suite of the Duke of Alençon, under the title of an Italian master.† His arrest occasioned her great anxiety; and in some letters to the *procureur general* during his imprisonment, she expresses undoubting credulity as to his powers.‡ It appears that after he had undergone the usual preliminaries for the examination of a wizard,§ and had indeed been condemned to the galleys, he received his pardon. Under royal protection he obtained the Abbey of St. Mahé in Bretagne, and enjoyed a pension of 3000 livres for more than forty years.||

* *Mém. de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 75. *Divorce Satyrique ap. Journal de Henri III.* tom. iv. p. 491.

† *Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. ii. p. 376, where the processes against La Molle and Coconnas are given at great length.

‡ *Mém. de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 75. One of the letters is dated at eleven at night.

§ *Tanquam maleficus omnino rarus*, De Thou, lvii. 16. A general shaving was the first process after the apprehension of a suspected sorcerer, in order that the secret marks impressed upon him by the devil might not escape discovery.

|| These particulars are not mentioned by Le Laboureur, much as he has said of Cosmo (tom. ii. p. 377). But they are confirmed in a remarkable account of the last moments of that miserable wretch given

Especial pains were taken by Catherine to implicate both the Bourbon princes in this conspiracy; but Condé was remote from immediate danger in his government of Picardy; and on the first alarm, he secured himself by a farther retreat to Strasburg, where he renewed his profession of Calvinism. The King of Navarre, evincing, in this instance, a noble and high-minded firmness, refused to compromise his friends. His answer to the interrogatories proposed to him was drawn up in writing; and so ill was he provided with attendants befitting his exalted rank that he was compelled to employ his queen as secretary; an office which she executed greatly to the satisfaction both of her husband and of herself, and not a little to the surprise of the examining commissioners.* The instrument which Henry presented to them was criminatory of his accusers rather than apologetical for himself; it enumerated the various injuries and insults which he had endured from the court since his earliest childhood; it deplored the loss of many loyal gentlemen attached to him, who, notwithstanding their neutrality in the civil troubles, had been recently massacred under his eyes; and it avowed his knowledge of a plot contemplated even against his own life. The Duke of Alençon, on the other hand, basely outran every interrogatory proposed to him, betraying all he knew, and adding more which he imagined concerning the project.†

by Nicholas Pasquier. He died in Paris in 1615, *un tres-mechant homme, Athée, et grand magicien*; and interment in consecrated ground was refused to his remains, in consequence of his having rejected the paring offices of the church. The corpse was exhumed from a pit into which it had been thrown, from a suspicion that it had been so buried to conceal an assassination; and after it had been consigned to the earth a second time, it was scratched up and devoured by dogs. *Lettres*, liv. iii. 10, cited by Pierre de l'Estolle. *Journ. de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 68, note.

* N'ayant lors personne de conseil auprès de luy, me commanda de dresser par écrit ce qu'il avoit à respondre, afin que par ce qu'il droit il ne mist ni luy, ni personne en peine. Dieu me fiat la grace de le dresser si bien qu'il en demeura satisfait, et les Commissaires estonnez de le voir si bien préparé.—*Mém. de la Reyne Marguerite*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 78.

† The difference of conduct between the two princes is well stated by

The treatment of these princes appears to have been precisely similar; and although they were vigilantly watched, Catherine was most anxious to encourage a belief that they were entirely at liberty, and on the best possible terms with the king. For that purpose, after the arrival of Leighton on a special mission from the court of England, she ostentatiously conveyed them, unaccompanied by an escort, in her own carriage, from Vincennes to the Tuilleries: and pointing them out to the English minister, she told him, with a smile, "There are my two children; you see how far they are prisoners."*

Two other leading personages, the Maréchaux de Cossé and de Montmorency, of whose ill-will towards herself it was not possible that Catherine should doubt, were allured to Paris, and there committed to the Bastile. The removal of La Nouë, by a more summary course, was projected; and the services of Maurevel and of a comrade professing the same craft were employed, although unsuccessfully, for his assassination.

The position of Catherine, thus strengthened, became yet more firm by the capture of one other important enemy. On the fresh arming of the Huguenots, Montgomery, ever active in his partisanship, had occupied some considerable towns in Maine and Brittany;† but, pressed by a superior force, he at last

Le Laboureur, who has given the answers of both at length. L'un comme un enfant bien obéissant qui fait une confession générale, et tout prest de fournir à sa mere tout ce qu'il luy plairoit de crimes, pour faire perir tous ses serviteurs et tous ses amis. L'autre comme un Roy captif en sa personne, mais toujours libre en sa dignité, et qu'on peut dire avoir fait le procès à cette Reine envers la Posterité au mesme temps qu'il croyoit travailler au sien. Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau, tom. ii. p. 356.

* Despatch from Charles IX. to La Mothe-Fenelon, May 20, 1574. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. iii. p. 400. A yet more remarkable interview, in which the princes were again exhibited to Leighton, is described in a subsequent despatch from Catherine herself during her regency, June 18. *Id.* p. 412. There cannot be a doubt that the scene was preconcerted.

† A very generous letter from Montgomery to La Nouë, explanatory

threw himself into Donfront, on the Mayenne.* That town, although placed on an eminence, is commanded by two neighbouring hills ; its fortifications were weak, and desertion so far thinned the garrison, that when, after a few days, the commander retired into the citadel, he could oppose scarcely forty followers to a besieging army exceeding 5000 men. Incredible as it may appear, this heroic band successfully maintained an assault of five hours' duration. But this victory was not obtained without a most destructive loss : Montgomery himself was wounded ; many of his bravest companions were slain ; and, hopeless of relief, he surrendered three days afterward ; whether at discretion or with an assurance of personal safety appears to be doubtful.† The captive was escorted to Paris with an ungenerous display of triumph ; and Catherine, overflowing with joy, announced her fresh prize in the sick-chamber of her son at Vincennes. He received the intelligence with apathy ; and when the queen repeated it, and asked if he was not pleased that the slayer of his father was at length in his power, he answered that he cared neither for that nor any thing else.‡ The hand of death was already upon him, and

May 30. he expired three days afterward.

The illness and death of Charles IX. were variously represented. By the more zealous Huguenots he was declared to have been stricken by God's wrath ; his malady was affirmed to be unknown to

of some former differences, is printed by Amiraault, p. 100. It is dated from Jersey, Feb. 18, 1574, and it produced a reconciliation.

* In the modern department of Orne.

† De Thou, lvii. 17, mentions the doubt. Davila, lib. v. tom. i. p. 323, says positively a *discretion*. Charles, in a despatch to La Mothe-Fenelon, dated on the very morning of his death, is made to say, *se rendit et sortit sur ma volonté et discretion*. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. iiii. p. 403. Catherine, in her despatch of June 18, speaks in like manner. But Le Laboureur himself says decidedly that Catherine violated the capitulation which stipulated for Montgomery's life. *Tom. i. p. 760. t m. ii. p. 714.*

‡ De Thou, lvii. 18. Brantôme, *Discours lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 214.*

medical science, and the most frightful details were circulated of his parting moments. Blood was said to have exuded for many days from every pore,* and his whole frame to have been torn by agonizing convulsions, which no sedative could mitigate. The supernatural portion of this account is easily reducible to truth, after some allowance for exaggeration. Charles appears to have laboured under both dysentery† and an affection of the lungs.‡ In each of those diseases, effusions of blood are of ordinary occurrence; and in certain stages of them the sufferings of the patient are most excruciating. One statement which was eagerly circulated, that the unhappy king was sometimes bathed in the copious torrents of blood which gushed from him, seems to have been derived from an accident in his sick-chamber fully noticed in the *Mémoires de l'état de France*; but which it can scarcely be expected that we should transcribe.§ Of his remorse, however, there seems little reason to doubt. De Thou represents him as at all times abstemious and indulging sparingly in sleep; but even those short slumbers, adds the historian, which he was used to take, were interrupted by nightly terrors after the St. Bartholomew; and when once awakened, he was compelled to have recourse to music, as a soother and an opiate.|| A few days before he breathed his last, we are told, that summoning his physicians long after midnight, he complained that he was "most horribly and cruelly tortured;" and received a distressing assurance in return, that their art had been exhausted in unavailing endeavours to procure him relief. Then, as his favourite nurse stood by his bedside, he addressed her in a violent burst of despair. "What blood! what

* Sully, *Mém.* liv. i. tom. i. p. 62.

† Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mém.* p. 72. ap. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i.

‡ Despatch from Catherine to La Mothe-Fénelon. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. iii. p. 406. Brantôme. *Discours lxxxviii.* tom. vii. p. 212.

§ Tom. iii. p. 276.

|| lvi. 19.

murder! how evil are the counsels that I have followed! Oh my God, pardon and pity me! I know not where I am, so grievous is my agony and perplexity. What will be the end of it! what will become of me!* I am lost for ever!" Without positively affirming this incident to be authentic, it cannot be denied that it is far too probable.

The virulent hatred with which the *Politiques* regarded Catherine and the Guises gave birth to a rumour that Charles had been poisoned by their agency. Of the Guises we hear little at this season; but an incidental notice by Walsingham sufficiently proves, that after Charles had abandoned his design of throwing the infamy of the massacre on their family, they appeared to enjoy their former ascendancy. "The house of Guise," writes the ambassador to Lord Burleigh, on the 8th of October, 1572, "who since the late murder seem to have some miscontent, was never, to the outward show, in greater favour nor in greater jollity."† Nevertheless, in a ferocious satire, *La Legende de Domp Claude de Guise*, published anonymously in the year of Charles's death (and which we cite as a testimony, not to fact, but to the existence of rumour), the king's murder by poison is attributed to the Cardinal of Lorraine.‡ Henry Stephens, in that section of his *Discours Merveilleux*, in which he institutes a comparison between the crimes of Brunehaut and those of Catherine,§ does not advance more than "presumptions" against the latter, and those presumptions, as we learn elsewhere, appear to have rested chiefly on the immoderate grief which she had expressed at the departure of the King of Poland; and on some words of doubtful meaning which had then escaped her, "that he would not be long ab-

* Pierre de l'Estolle, p. 71.

† Digges, p. 269.

‡ Ch. xxxii. ap. *Mém. de Condé*, tom. vi. p. 112.

§ lxi. ap. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 446.

sent.”* But a far darker tale is related in one of the MSS. of De Thou ; in which the Duke of Guise, the Maréchal de Retz, his brother the Bishop of Paris, and the queen-mother, are declared to have been privy to the atrocious design which was executed by the royal chamberlain, La Tour ; easily stimulated to the crime in revenge for an outrage upon his matrimonial honour.†

The imputation of poisoning appears to us to be groundless ; and we may notice one especial contradiction, which shows the uncertainty of that evidence upon which our judgment must now be founded. The authority of Brantôme, when uncorroborated, is nothing worth ; but in the present instance, he had no temptation to deviate from truth, and even his carelessness could scarcely be mistaken. He says that when Charles's body was opened there was found within it neither spot nor bruise ; a fact which generally removed the suspicion of poison ;‡ and in this statement he is confirmed by Papyr Masson.§ De Thou, on the contrary, writing within

* “ *Partez, mais vous n'y demeurerez gueres.*” D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*, tom. ii. liv. ii. ch. 2. p. 667. De Thou, lvii. 9.

† De Thou, *ibid. Var Lect.* The cause assigned for the chamberlain's treachery is contrary to the reputed habits of Charles, upon which we have already made some observation, vol. i. p. 311. De Thou, after speaking of the violent exercises to which the king was addicted, adds, *eo minus in Venerem mollis, ut qui unicam puellam Aurelianensem adamasse toto vitæ tempore compertus sit*, lvii. 19. The name of this favoured lady was Marie Touchet, daughter of an apothecary at Orleans, who bore a son, the Count d'Auvergne, Grand Prior of France. Brantôme. *Discours lxxxviii.* tom. vii. p. 216. The story of La Tour is repeated in the pretended letter to Catherine, from the Sieur de Grand-Champ, chamberlain of the Duke of Alençon. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. ii. p. 427.

‡ *Son corps fut ouvert en présence du Magistrat, n'y ayant esté trouvé en dedans aucune meurtrisseure n'y tache, cela oste publiquement l'opinion que l'on avoit de la poison.* *Discours lxxxviii.* tom. vii. p. 212. Who would imagine, after this statement, that in the very next paragraph but one, the same writer would more than imply his assent to the opinion of those who believe that Charles died under the influence of a slow poison, composed of the powdered horn of a *lepus marinus*? and that he would continue to moralize gravely on the untimely fate by which those who administered the potion were retributively overtaken?

§ *Corpus inspectum est, præsentè magistratu urbis, livores nulli intus reperti suspicionem tabifici veneni ademerunt quod a fratre delatum*

forty years of the time, with abundant and authentic materials before him, and with an unrivalled sobriety of judgment in estimating their several values, positively affirms that bruises *were* found without any assignable cause, insomuch that the suspicion of poison was rather increased than diminished.* The point, however, is decided by Catherine's own statement, in a despatch to La Mothe-Fenelon, in which she speaks decidedly of morbid appearances discovered on the lungs.†

The great apparent benefit which accrued to Catherine from the death of Charles must have largely increased the suspicion that it had been accelerated by her means. The crown passed from a son, who, although not wholly emancipated from her yoke, nevertheless endured it reluctantly; and who evinced a fierceness of disposition, sufficiently vouching that ere long he would reject her control altogether. It was transferred, moreover, to another son, who had hitherto lived with her on terms of confidence, of obedience, and, if we may so abuse the word, of affection: who had shared her inmost thoughts, laboured together with her in her most secret projects, and was bound to her interests by a tie in some respects indissoluble, a copartnership in crime. For the future, therefore, she entertained a brilliant and not unreasonable hope of paramount ascendancy; and the evening of a long life spent in struggles for the maintenance of power, appeared likely to bring with it the fullest triumph of ambi-

rumor erat. Ap. Mém. de Castelnau, tom. iii. p. 21. Either Papyr Masson here translated from Brantôme, or Brantôme from Papyr Masson.

* *Ita ut mors ejus festinata credatur, cujus rei suspicio ut purgaretur mortui corpus a chirurgis et medicis apertum, in quo livores et causæ incognitæ reperti conceptam multorum opinionem auferunt potius quàm minuerunt. lviil. 19.*

† *La maladie estoit une grosse fièvre continue, causée d'une inflammation de poudrons, que les medecins avoient bien reconnu pour telle, sans toutefois y pouvoir donner remède. Ce qui s'est encore mieux vu après son décès, qu'il a esté ouvert, ayant esté trouvé l'un des dits poudrons bien intéressé et l'autre aussi endommagé. Ap. Mém. de Castelnau, tom. iii. p. 406.*

. For the present, her wishes were fulfilled to utmost extent, since the dying words of Charles established her unrestricted regent till the arrival of his successor.*

Then Catherine transferred her court from Vincennes to Paris, she adopted precautions the most ostentatious to keep alive the remembrance of the lately-discovered plot. Affecting alarm for her personal safety, she walled up all the posterns and other entrances to the Louvre; barricaded both ends of the street by which its principal gate was approached; and permitted only the wicket of that wall to remain open, sentinelled by a large body of archers.† The gratification of vengeance upon Montgomery was among her earliest cares after arriving in the capital; and when his process had been completed by the parliament of Paris, he was referred to the question, ordinary and extraordinary, under the pretext of obtaining a confession relative to the fictitious conspiracy which it was still meditated the Huguenots had meditated, after the first attempt upon Coligny. The agonies of torture failed in bringing from the illustrious sufferer one word which should derogate from his honour: and when he was placed in a tumbril, with his hands

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behind his back, and dragged to the Grève before a priest and the executioner, he continued to retain the most unshaken and dignified constancy. Laying aside the crucifix which the Archbishop of Bourges offered to his lips, he appealed to the King as the only source whence he derived the authority in which he was resolved to die, even as he

the despatch in which Catherine announces her acceptance of the title to La Mothe-Fenelon is a remarkable specimen of hypocrisy. Tears of her feelings having been so wrung by the loss of that which she held most dear and precious, that the calamity, *m'a fait de la quitter et remettre toutes affaires pour chercher quelque tran-
sité de vie*, nevertheless that vaincue par l'instante prière qu'il me
tr ses derniers propos j'ay esté contrainte d'accepter ladite
1. *Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. iii. p. 406.
Journal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 78.

L. II.—I

had lived : and for the profession of which, not for the pretended treason of which he was wholly guiltless, he declared himself to be now condemned. On the scaffold he recited the Articles of his Faith, and having made one short prayer, calmly laid his head upon the block, while Catherine in person watched the descending axe of the executioner.*

Uncertain of the course which Henry might adopt on his return from Poland, Catherine's next object was to temporize with the Huguenots, and she concluded a truce for two months with their leaders at La Rochelle. The Reformed, however, well aware of the precariousness of their condition, were by no means lulled into indolent security ;

July 1. and, pursuant to former agreement, a meeting of their deputies assembled at Milhaud, a small town not far from Nismes. The chief subjects discussed were letters from the Prince of Condé, and the proposed union with the *Politiques*, of whom Henry, Maréchal D'Amville, was considered chief, during the captivity of his elder brother, the Duke de Montmorency. La Popelinière attended as one of the deputies on this occasion, and from him we receive minute particulars of the conference. Its result was, first, a declaration, in which, after many vehement assertions of loyalty to the reigning prince, and a disclaimer of any sinister design against the legitimate order of succession, the Huguenots expressed their cordial desire for

* *La Reine assiste à l'exécution. Id.* p. 89. Catherine, in a despatch to La Mothe-Fenelon, dated June 30, 1574, pretends that she had wished to delay Montgomery's process till the arrival of the king ; but that she was prevented by the dread of *quelque émotion tant le peuple étoit animé contre lui. Mém. de Castelnau, tom. iii. p. 417.* A consummate piece of artifice is exhibited in another despatch, dated ten days before. With the hope of prejudicing Elizabeth against Montgomery, Catherine instructs her ambassador to choose a fitting moment in which he may inform the Queen of England that the prisoner had made some untoward revelations. Little credit, she says, is to be attached to his words ; but he has stated his knowledge of Elizabeth's deadly enmity against the present king, in consequence of some disparaging expressions which he was falsely reported to have used during his negotiation for marriage with her.—*Id.* p. 414.

reconciliation with those fellow-countrymen and denizens of the same realm who were called Catholics.* They then acknowledged the Prince of Condé as their governor-general and protector, and earnestly requested him to act by the advice of a council. The deliverance of the King of Navarre and of the Duke of Alençon, of Cossé and of Montmorency, was urged upon him as a most important duty; and an early assemblage of the States General was declared to afford the soundest hope of remedying the present intestine discord.†

Peace, however, notwithstanding the truce which Catherine had proposed and ratified, seemed not less remote than ever: and throughout the summer, the disturbed provinces exhibited scenes of almost uninterrupted outrage. Upon these distressing incidents, productive of great immediate misery, but wholly unimportant in their results, it is unnecessary that we should dwell. Nor is it required by the main object of our narrative that we should detail the stealthy and undignified escape of Henry from his Polish capital, when he received intelligence of his accession to the crown of France. Having gained the frontiers of the kingdom which he had deserted, by a flight not less rapid than that of a criminal eluding the pursuit of justice, he indulged his taste for voluptuous splendour by a slower progress; and he was entertained at the imperial court, and afterward, more especially, at Venice, with unparalleled magnificence. On his arrival at Turin, he was met by D'Amville, who, before giving final assent to the Huguenot propositions, resolved to ascertain by a personal interview his chance of favour under the new reign. In the outset, he was amply satisfied by his reception; for Henry listened to his pacific advice, and bestowed upon him numerous marks of intimate confidence and affection. But this reviving

* *Leurs compatriotes regnicoles nommez Catholiques.*

† *La Popelinière, tom. ii. p. 234. Mém. de l'estat, tom. iii. p. 403.*

graciousness was nipped in its very bud by the counter-representations of Catherine's agents ; and had it not been for a seasonable warning from the Duke of Savoy, who assisted his speedy retreat, the *maréchal* might have encountered loss of freedom, perhaps even of life.

On his return to his government of Languedoc, he threw himself unreservedly into the arms of the Huguenots : and the conditions which he accepted sufficiently evince his bitterness of hostility against the court, and his utter hopelessness of reconciliation. He was not allowed to propose any change in either the civil or military government of the Huguenots, without the consent of a council nominated by the deputies and entirely composed of Reformed members. The secretary of that council and his own secretaries were also to be of the same religion. He was not to attempt the solemnization of the Romish worship in any of the towns occupied by the Huguenots ; whereas, in those possessed by his opponents, the Reformed were to be allowed to celebrate their own service publicly and without molestation. In his army he was to observe a rigid moral discipline, similar to that which had been established among the Calvinists ; and whenever a prince of the blood appeared as their leader, he was cheerfully to surrender to him the power with which for the present he was invested.* Such were the concessions to which the persevering enmity of Catherine reduced a leading member of the noblest house in France, and one who at an earlier season had manifested a zealous opposition against the Reformed.

On the evening of the 5th of September, Sept. 5. Henry crossed the frontiers, and set foot within his native dominions. He was received by the King of Navarre and the Duke d'Alençon, whom

* *La Popeliniere*, tom. ii. p. 240. *Mém. de l'estat*. tom. iii. p. 416.

Catherine had released for that purpose from their virtual captivity, and whom he greeted with much apparent courtesy and kindness. The queen herself awaited him at Bourgoïn, whence the court adjourned with great pomp to Lyons, still under the government of Mandelot. During more than two months' residence in that city, all eyes remarked with sorrow and astonishment the strange revolution which the attainment of sovereignty had effected in Henry's character. No trait deserving attachment, indeed, had exhibited itself in former life; but the Duke d'Anjou, although stern, cruel, and perfidious, was not devoid of many of those qualities which contribute to military excellence; and in past campaigns he had evinced courage, hardihood, and activity. Even those merits, however, so often the result of merely physical temperament, had now disappeared. The soldier who had bravely shared the perils of Jarnac and of Moncontour, was no longer to be recognised in the luxurious Sybarite, who, instead of showing himself in kingly guise on horseback, floated in the privacy of a gilded barge upon the lazy waters of the Saône; who passed his mornings in seclusion within the chambers of the palace; dined amid a fence-work of barricades, preventing that free access to his table which had ever formed a portion of royal state with his predecessors; hastily dismissed the petitions which he received after his banquet; shunned the society of his ancient nobles and warriors, and abandoned himself to the dissolute companionship of a train of youthful mignons.* Nor was it the least subject of grievance, that the profuse expenditure lavished upon those odious and insatiable favourites was supplied by a sale of the public offices of state, thus transferred from the

* The word *Mignon* became peculiarly appropriated to Henry's debauched companions, as *Roué* did in after-times to those of the regent Orleans: but it had been long before in similar use. Duchat, *Notes sur le Journal de Henri III.* tom. I. p. xxviii.

worthiest to the wealthiest. So great was the poverty of the court in consequence of these unseasonable largesses, that when it moved from Lyons to Avignon, the king's pages were compelled to pawn their cloaks, in order to furnish necessaries during the journey; Catherine herself borrowed 5000 francs for her personal expenses; and the wits diverted themselves by writing epitaphs on that "villanous gold," which they said was long since dead and buried.*

Either adopting the outward observances of religion in order to mislead the popular judgment into a belief that he was really pious; or, as is far from improbable, yielding to the self-delusion which the spirit of his church is well fitted to encourage, and extinguishing occasional remorse by a commutation of moral purity for bodily penance, Henry, from the outset of his reign, devoted himself to a show of superstitious austerities. In Avignon, he enrolled himself as a brother among a confraternity of Flagellants, and, clad in sackcloth and brandishing a whip, he disciplined his bare shoulders during a procession in the open streets. Each of the three branches into which these fanatics were subdivided received illustrious patronage, like the factions of the circus in imperial Rome,† according to the prevailing colour of its respective vestments. The king considered the *Whites* as his peculiar charge; the protection of the queen-mother was especially directed to the *Blacks*; and to the Cardinal D'Armagnac was consigned the guardianship of the *Blues*.‡

* *On ne parloit alors que ce diable d'argent, qu'on disoit estre passé et dont on fit l'epitaphe en vers— Journal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 108.*

† De Thou, lix. 7.

‡ *Journal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 111.* Busbequius, writing to his imperial master, during his embassy at Paris, a few years later (1582), states, that the king had then just instituted a new order of Flagellants, which gave rise to the following ludicrous incident. *Servi Nobilitatis a pedibus, quorum hic maximus numerus est, cum illius Sodalitii in ipsa regia quædam per jocum et lasciviam æmularentur, Regis jussu abrepti ferè*

King of Navarre appeared among the band of fools, and escaped with a harmless sarcasm from y upon his unfitness for the office which he had taken ;* but this mummary proved fatal to an- of the most remarkable personages of the times, pretensions of the Cardinal of Lorraine to the acter of a sincere penitent were by no means r founded than those of Henry of Navarre e station which he occupied in the church ap- d to require that he should participate with reater zeal than others in this show of contri-

Bare-headed, with his feet shod in scanty ds, and grasping a crucifix in his hand, he min- therefore with the brethren ; and the cold of a mber night, striking inwardly, produced a fever, h rapidly terminated his life, in the Dec. 26. year of his age.† For some days pre-

g his decease, the violence of his malady ren- l him delirious ; and little as the words of an ppy sufferer, deprived of his mental faculties pproaching his last agony, are a theme adapted e jester, the virulence of party-spirit converted to the purposes of satire. It was said that, in ivings, the cardinal vented language the most re and blasphemous ; and that the Archbishop reims, his nephew, who watched by his bed- observed that he saw nothing desperate in his 's case, for that his words and actions were he same as they had always used to be.‡

ginta in coquinam, atque ibidem flagris ad satietatem cæsi, haud simulachrum Flagellatorum et Pœnitentium retulerunt. *Epist.* See also *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 393.

urnal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 111.

occasion of Flagellants at Paris in 1533 occasioned the death of r of the Duc de Joyeuse in a very similar manner. De Thou,

urnal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 112. The *Legende de Domp. Claude* se affirms that the Cardinal of Lorraine was poisoned by his brother, by means of a scented purse ; and that his delirium thirteen days, during which period no other sounds were heard s lips but a repetition of, "*Monsieur St. Denis ! Monsieur St.*

The night on which the Cardinal of Lorraine died was memorable in France for a tempest of unprecedented violence; which, as in the similar case of Cromwell, in after-days, furnished a topic of debate to all classes (for all were then superstitious), and was variously interpreted, according to the sentiments of different partisans. The friends of the deceased cardinal intimated that the storm was symbolical of the wrath of God, which had deprived the church of a supporter so wise, so great, and so virtuous. His enemies maintained, on the other hand, that it was an accompaniment of the troop of devils which had assembled to transport the parting spirit to the revels of their Sabbath.

The queen-mother spoke slightly of his memory, and expressed her conviction that his death would restore peace to the kingdom which he had so long agitated. Nevertheless, her disturbed fancy frequently recalled his image. At the very moment after she had uttered the above harsh opinion, she seemed rapt in a brief ecstasy, and declared that she saw the cardinal borne by angels to paradise;* and often afterward, during the stillness of night, she would express to the ladies of her bed-chamber the terrors to which she was exposed by repeated visits from his spectre. We have already noticed Catherine's strong addiction to astrology: and the *Mémoires* of her daughter, Margaret of Navarre, afford proofs of numerous other superstitions, which she not less weakly cherished. On the night before Henry II. was killed by Montgomery, she affirmed that she had seen a vision, in which the precise circumstances of her husband's fate were distinctly represented; she believed that the death of each of her children had been prognosticated by a luminous appearance visi-

Denis Arcopagite ? Ap. *Mém. de Condé*, tom. v. p. 134. This anecdote, and that in the text, perhaps, deserve equal credit.

* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 114.

ble to herself only; and, during the battle of Jarnac, while suffering under an access of fever, at more than a day's journey from the field, she is said to have used expressions seemingly applicable to the very events which were occurring at the moment: to the unhorsing of the Duke of Anjou, to the death of the Prince of Condé, and to the final victory of the royalists. When the courier arrived with despatches on the following night, she told him that she had nothing to learn, for that she had *seen* the battle.* We need but turn to some of the many anecdotes which Philippe de Comines has recorded of his master, Louis XI., to determine that Catherine's is not a solitary instance of the domination established by credulity over minds which appear to have rejected all legitimate control of moral obligation.

If the Cardinal of Lorraine had survived but a few weeks longer, his ambition would have been gratified by witnessing the elevation of a near relative to the throne of France. The bride whom Henry selected was Louise de Lorraine, eldest daughter of Nicolas Count de Vaudemont,† by whose distinguished beauty the king had been attracted while on his route to Poland. His *Sacre* 1575. and his nuptials were solemnized early in Feb. 13. the following year; and the frivolity of his Feb. 15. tastes and the coarseness of his feelings were strikingly evinced by two incidents connected with them. The early portion of the day of each ceremonial was occupied by the king in arranging the jewels and in superintending the toilettes both of himself and of his intended consort; and so long were these idle and unmanly amusements protracted, that on the *Sacre* it became necessary to omit the chanting of *Te Deum*; and on both oc-

* *Mémoires de la Reine Marguerite*, tom. i. liv. i. p. 80.

† Second son of Antony Duke of Lorraine: and afterward created Duke de Mercœur by his son-in-law Henry III.

casions mass was deferred till the evening, contrary to the ordinances of the church.* Louise had been compelled to sacrifice her affections to the aggrandizement of her house; and the younger brother of the Count De Salines, to whom she was attached, was not the only suitor who had pretended to her hand. Among others is noticed Francis of Luxemburg, who was present both at the *Sacre* and the marriage. Henry had been informed of the rejected lover's former addresses, and he took an opportunity of offering to him a not very satisfactory recompense. "My cousin," he said, "I have espoused your mistress, and in return you shall espouse one of mine." Nor was this offensive tender made in jest: the courtier implored a few days' respite; and then only by a hasty flight escaped the dishonour of being compelled to become the husband of Renée de Chateaufneuf, a well-known early favourite of the king.†

Before the court became occupied with these festivities, the Huguenots and the *Politiques* had finally cemented their union, at Nismes. A declaration of great length imbodyed the terms of their agreement; and the portion which relates to discipline is very striking, whether we consider its unmeasured severity, or the willingness with which the Romanists appear to have submitted to the Calvinistic rule. Profane swearing was declared to be one of the most besetting sins of a camp; and in order to restrain its com-

* De Thou, lx. 14. The historian, on this, as on many occasions, was a witness of the incident which he relates, *nam et ipse aderam*.

† *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 121. This lady afterward married Antinotti, a Florentine, captain of the galleys at Marseilles, whom, upon discovering him in an intrigue, she poniarded with her own hand. *Id.* p. 217. *Hé! si toutes les femmes agissoient ainsi, grand Dieu, qu'il y auroit des veuves!* is Godefroy's piquant note on the above passage. Her second husband, Altoviti, an Italian, and captain of the galleys, like her first, fell in a private quarrel with Henry of Angoulême, a bastard of Henry II., and grand prior of France, who himself received a mortal wound in the affray. De Thou, lxxv. 19. *Journal*, tom. i. p. 483.

mission, a fine of 100 sols was levied for the first offence, ten livres for the second, and on the third, the culprit was to be stripped of his arms, as unworthy to bear them. By another clause it was expressly forbidden to every member of the army, without exception, whatever might be his rank or quality, to entertain any woman, either in the field or in garrison, on *pain of death* to the man and of corporal punishment to his companion.*

Some fruitless attempts at negotiation were made by Condé in the spring; but neither the propositions which his delegates submitted to the king, nor the answers which they were instructed to return, were calculated to extinguish hostility.† A desultory warfare, therefore, continued to rage during the summer in the southern provinces; but the only event in it deserving even of a brief notice was one which brought the career of a noble soldier to a cruel and untimely end. The ancient family of Puy, in Dauphiné, had early adopted the Reformed principles: and when, at the beginning of the third troubles, Jacques de Crussol, the Sieur D'Acier,‡

* *Sur peyne de la vie, et la femme d'estre punie corporellement.* La Popelinière, tom. ii. p. 266. The articles of this association occupy eleven closely-printed folio pages.

Groce, in his *Military Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 70, has noticed a similar very cruel provision, made by our own Henry V. in some Rules and Ordinances of War which he promulgated at Mans. All women of ill repute are ordered to be stationed, during any siege, at the distance of at least a league from the army; and the punishment for a transgression of this order was the *fracture of the left arm*, in case any of the said women should be found within the prohibited distance after one admonition. Groce refers for those ordinances to Upton *de Re Militari*, in which work he says they are given probably in the original Latin. In the only edition of Upton's treatise which we have had an opportunity of consulting (that edited by Bissæus), the author does no more than allude to those ordinances, which he says *brevitatis causâ omitto inserere*, expressly adding that he had elsewhere translated them from English into Latin, at the command of the Earl of Salisbury.

‡ De Thou, lx. 15.

† During the St. Bartholomew, Jacques was preserved at the intercession of his brother Antoine, first Duke of Uzès, a Romanist, by the express command of Catherine. De Thou, lii. 8. On the death of Antoine without issue, in 1573, Jacques succeeded to the dukedom, and renounced the Huguenot faith. *Id.* lvi. 10.

marched the 25,000 men who sprang up at his call in the south,* to the aid of the Prince of Condé in Guyenne, Louis de Montbrun, a leading member† of that house, was appointed to an honourable command near the general's person. The immediate friends of D'Acier formed a troop of two hundred mounted gentlemen; and from among them Montbrun was selected to bear his commander's standard. The device blazoned on its green silken folds represented Hercules destroying a hydra, each of whose hundred necks terminated in a head wearing a cardinal's cap, a mitre, or a cowl; beneath was written a legend, *Qui casso crudeles*; which words, although neither easily reducible to any one known dialect, nor very pregnant with meaning, even when assigned to all upon which they have claim, were, nevertheless, highly agreeable to the taste of the times, as anagrammatic of the name Jacques de Crussol.‡

Before that expedition, Montbrun was already an experienced campaigner; for, with but few intervals of repose, he had borne arms for the Huguenot cause from the moment of the rising at Amboise. He had latterly held the chief command in Dauphiné; and De Thou more than once forcibly expresses the great terror which was there excited by his active partisanship.§ "*Le brave Montbrun*," the title by which he became generally known, and which of itself announces his pre-eminence, was everywhere on the mountains the mainstay of his party. On one occasion, he succeeded in capturing the formidable and sanguinary Des Adrets; and but a few months be-

* De Thou plainly distinguishes two Sieurs de Montbrun, Charles and Louis; of whom the latter is the one with whom our present narrative is concerned. Moreri recognises but one, and relates all the incidents under the name of Charles.

† De Thou, xliv. 18.

‡ *Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. ii. p. 580.

§ *Dum Montbrunius cum exigua manu discurrens, terrorem totæ provinciæ ostentavit*. lv. 14. *Magno de se terrore sparsit*. lvii. 10.

fore the time at which we have now arrived, a portion of the royal baggage on its way to Lyons had been seized and detained by his followers. The reply which Montbrun unadvisedly offered to a letter from Henry, demanding the restoration of this plunder, must have been eminently ungrateful to royal ears. "Why," said the plain-spoken and unceremonious soldier, "should your majesty write to me in the tone of a king? In time of peace I might acknowledge your sovereignty; but now, during war, with one hand on the sword and our seat in the saddle, all men are equal."* Few of his exploits were more brilliant than those which signalized his last campaign; and the inferiority of numbers with which he frequently defeated his adversaries brings to mind some of the fabled deeds of romantic chivalry. Even on the day of his capture, he had slain 200 royalists, with the loss of only twenty-seven men on his own side; and his soldiers were scattered in search of booty, when he was again attacked and surrounded. His horse, jaded by the toil of battle, refused a leap, stumbled, and shattered its master's thigh upon which it fell. Thus disabled, Montbrun tendered his sword to a relation whom he observed in the enemy's ranks, and surrendered on an assurance of personal safety. "I was at court," is the narrative of Brantôme, "when a captain arrived from the field with the news; and well was he received, and glad was the king thereof. 'I knew well,' said Henry, 'that Montbrun would repent his insolence; his doom is already sealed, and he shall now see whether we are equals.'"[†]

In pursuance of this menace the prisoner was transferred to Grenoble, with strict instructions that the nicest surgical skill should be directed to the cure of his broken thigh. No pains were spared by his companions in arms to obtain his release, and

* Brantôme, *Discours* lxxxix. 4, tom. vii. p. 349.

† *Id. ibid.*

both D'Amville and the Prince of Condé strongmonstrated against his being considered in other character than that of a prisoner of The Duke of Guise, interested in the fate of his ancient servant Besme, who had fallen into the power of the Huguenots about the same time, is said to have earnestly solicited the king for permission to negotiate an exchange.* But Henry's bitter resentment was not to be disarmed, and all efforts for deliverance of Montbrun proved useless. Therefore his limb was restored to use, he was tried and condemned for high-treason, and the judicial proceedings were even unduly accelerated, through a fear that the prisoner's rapidly declining health might prevent him from surviving until punishment could be inflicted. When carried to the scaffold

Aug. 12. chair, he evinced a constancy of spirit to be expected from the obvious failure of his physical strength; and briefly entreating the spectators to remember that he died, not as a malefactor, as one who had taken up arms for liberty and religion, against their public violators, he bowed himself to the stroke, which he declared he would receive with joy, as bringing to a close many sorrows and miseries.†

The gratification which the king received from this cruel and unworthy revenge was soon, however, to be more than counterbalanced by an event which he felt to be deeply injurious to his personal honour. The Duke of Alençon, having neither gotten his former harsh usage, nor abandoned hope of future aggrandizement, resolved to draw altogether from a court in which he perceived himself to be not only without influence, but

* Amiraault, who mentions this report, says that it is not corroborated by the letters which the Duke of Guise wrote to La Nouë in behalf of Besme; and that in regard to Montbrun himself, if such an offer had been really made, *je croy qu'il eust mieux aymé perdre la teste, que d'estre contreposé à un homme si detestable.*—P. 167.

† De Thou, lx. 21.

posed to daily mortifications. Quitting the Tuileries, on foot and with but a single attendant, on the evening of the 16th of ^{Sept. 16.} September, he proceeded to one of the gates of Paris; entered the carriage of a lady with whom he was familiar, which there awaited him; mounted a horse at a short distance onward; and, within two leagues of the capital, found himself at the head of between two and three hundred gentlemen, assembled at an appointed rendezvous. Under their escort, he hastened on to Dreux, a town belonging to his own *apanage*; and thence addressed a strong letter to Henry, and published a manifesto, vaguely worded, affording an opportunity for every discontented party in the kingdom to propose a union with him, and yet leaving open a door for future reconciliation with the king.*

One clause in this manifesto was especially inserted as a lure to the Huguenots, and with many of the more sanguine among them it produced the effect which Alençon desired. Having sufficiently professed attachment to the ancient religion, and avowed his determination to maintain it entire and inviolate, he notified, that in order to remove all difficulties, and to reunite in their natural bonds the hearts of all Frenchmen, he took equally under his protection every person of either religion; and he promised that in the approaching States General provision should be made for liberty of conscience. So grievously had the citizens of Nismes, of Montauban, of Montpellier, and of La Rochelle suffered under recent oppression, that, caught by these few words, they hailed Alençon as a deliverer, and offered a public thanksgiving in their churches for

* The letter is printed in the *Mém. de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 95, the manifesto, p. 97. Du Plessis makes rivalry in an intrigue the proximate cause of Alençon's quarrel with his brother. *De nostre temps, en l'an 1575, la guerre du bien public, menee par Francois Duc d'Alençon contre Henry III. provient de l'amour des deux freres vers une mesme femme. Adieu à qui escrit l'Histoire de son temps.* tom. vii. p. 198.

his escape.* His original baptismal name, changed afterward by the caprice of his mother, came to the aid of their excited fancies; and in this new *Hercules*, as he had been called at the font,† they beheld the avenger of all wrongs, the destroyer of every pest and abuse which laid waste their bleeding country. Even La Nouë, fully as he was acquainted with the weakness and instability, the want of ennobling qualities and the absence of commanding talents which rendered Alençon but a broken reed, so far bowed himself to the general delusion as to encourage hope that the prince's illustrious station, and his nearness to the crown, might convert him, under sound guidance, into a valuable ally. He resolved, therefore, upon a personal interview; and the single head of La Nouë, says his biographer,‡ was reckoned of as much value, when he arrived in Monsieur's quarters, as the junction of a whole army.

Little, however, was this mark of confidence deserved; for Alençon, while in communication with D'Amville, with La Nouë, and with the Prince of Condé himself, despatched a secret envoy to the Vatican, and pleaded to Gregory XIII. the hard necessity of his condition, which forced him to temporize with heretics and insurgents. The pope received the messenger with kindness, and returned by him, not a rebuke, but a caution.§ Meanwhile Condé, whose German levies were not yet entirely completed, detached the Sieur de Thoré, brother to Montmorency and D'Amville, with such troops as he could spare; and at the same time offered

Oct. 10. to Alençon's acceptance the generalship of

* De Thou, lxi. 5.

† Charles IX. was christened Maximilian; Henry III., Alexander Edward; and Francis Duke of Alençon, Hercules. "La reine," says Brantôme, without offering further explanation, "par tels changements des noms pensoit leur baptiser la fortune meilleure ou la vie plus longue." *Discours* lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 270.

‡ Amirault, p. 175, from Mézeray.

§ De Thou, lxi. 5.

the confederates. The march of Thoré was intercepted by a superior force, and he was totally routed in an engagement near Langrès in Champagne, which deserves remembrance from having given to Henry Duke of Guise the sobriquet of *Le Balafré*, by which he is usually distinguished. His left cheek was carried away by a musket-ball, discharged by a Huguenot soldier after the battle had been won; whether in presenting his piece to the duke in the act of surrender, or in endeavouring to escape, is not fully ascertained.*

On discovering his brother's escape, the king evinced great anxiety. He commanded that every apartment in the Louvre, and every house in Paris which might afford him a probable retreat, should be searched; and summoning his chief counsellors, at an advanced hour of the night, he ordered them to mount their horses and to pursue the fugitive. "Dead or alive," exclaimed the irritated prince, "he must be brought back: he is about to kindle the flames of war in my dominions, and he must be taught the folly of attacking a king so powerful as myself."† But pursuit was useless, for Alençon had obtained many hours' start. One almost immediate consequence of his flight was the release of the Maréchaux de Cossé and de Montmorency from their long imprisonment. Their services were necessary to Catherine in the negotiation which she resolved to undertake; and from the latter especially she expected and derived every assistance which integrity and a disinterested patriotism, throwing aside

* "Le combat fut achevé, et l'armée logée à onze heures du matin, et sur les quatre du soir, le Duc de Guyse, venant de visiter un capitaine blessé, trouve un soldat Huguenot de ce pais là, qui cherchoit ses commoditez pour se retirer. Le Seurre, secretaire du duc, l'avisa comme il se relaisoit dans un hallier. Le duc y donne, et receut un grand coup qui lui emporta la joue: quelques uns veulent que le soldat l'ait fait par resolution, les autres que c'ait esté en rendant son poitrinal; la foi de cela est à un capitaine et au secretaire qui seuls estoient avec le duc." D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*, tom. ii. liv. ii. c. 17, p. 182.

† *Mém. de la Reine Marguerite*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 99.

all remembrances of private wrongs, could afford. Nevertheless, only a few weeks had passed since she had ordered his assassination; and one more deed of secret murder would have been added to the many crimes perpetrated in the cells of the Bastile, but for the uprightness of the officer to whom, mistaking his character, she intrusted the execution of her design.*

With Montmorency, therefore, in her suite, Catherine proceeded to Touraine; and the result of much diplomacy and of numerous conferences was a truce of six months' duration, to commence from the 22d of November. The terms were advantageous to the confederates. In order to check the advance of the German auxiliaries, the king engaged to pay to them 160,000 crowns, provided they did not cross the Rhine. Angoulesme, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, La Charité, and Mezieres were placed in the hands of the Reformed, under a pledge that they should be restored at the expiration of the truce, whether it was succeeded by peace or war. The king was to maintain at his own expense 2000 men for the garrisons of those towns; the armies on both sides were to be disbanded, with the exception of the Royal Swiss and Scotch Guards; and a congress was to be assembled at

* A report of the death of the Maréchal d'Amville having been propagated, Catherine persuaded the king to instruct Gilles de Souvré, his keeper of the robes, to smother Montmorency in prison; and in order that the public mind might be reconciled to his sudden decease, it was given out that he was subject to apoplectic attacks. De Souvré temporized and the escape of Alençon, and the contradiction of the report concerning D'Amville, occasioned a revocation of the nefarious order. De Thou, lxi. 6.

† Catherine at first agreed that the conferences with Alençon should be held on neutral ground; eventually they took place in the house of the Duke de Montpensier at Champigny. An amusing pretext for this change, which conduced greatly to Catherine's personal safety, may be found in a letter from Montpensier to La Nouë, dated Nov. 16, 1575. "*S'estant la reyne trouvée un peu autrement traitée qu'elle ne pensoit d'une medecine qu'elle a prise ce matin, ce qui luy fait craindre de ne pouvoir sortir demain,*" &c. Amirault, p. 176.

s, in the following January, by which the cons-ns of a definitive peace might be arranged.*
 little, however, was the royal faith to be ed, that, during the short interval which elapsed reen the signature and the promulgation of this y, Henry negotiated fresh levies of men both wisserland and in Germany ; and but for the im- ibility of procuring money for their payment, nsequence of the miserable dilapidation of the nal finances, there can be no doubt that he ld have poured these troops into France, and nscrupulously violating the truce, have taken nemies at advantage. When he asked a loan 0,000 livres from the city of Paris, the authori- drew up a strong remonstrance, detailing the erous grievances under which the kingdom was aring. In this document it was shown, that du- the last fifteen years the city of Paris alone had shed thirty-six millions, and the clergy nearly e that sum, for the expenses of the civil war. r a fearful picture of the exhaustion of all the re- ces of the state, and a temperate but unsparing nciation of the venality, the luxury, and the city of the favourites of the court, the remon- ce concluded with a transcript of the memora- dmonition bequeathed by St. Louis to his son, ining him to cultivate religion ; to cherish the y ; to avoid burdening his subjects with need- tribute ; never to impose a tax unless with free consent, nor for more than a given time ; o move all evil counsellors from his presence ; o warn his judges to administer justice impar- r, and without respect to any man's person, were it his own. The lessons of Catherine not been thrown away upon her favourite son ; Henry, although deeply moved by this bold esentation of ungrateful truths, when he ex- ed an immediate relief of his pressing neces-

* *Mém de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 99.

sities, dissembled his anger and mortification, and so far controlled himself as to dismiss the civic deputies with a gracious reply.*

Some opportune private sources for a while supplied the insatiate demands of his treasury; and Henry was suspected of having recourse to other means of obtaining money, little in accordance with

his apparent piety. Among the many relics
 1576. of the *Sainte Chapelle* had long been preserved an unusually large fragment of the true cross. In what manner this holy treasure disappeared was never ascertained; but rumour affirmed that, early in the present year, it had been pledged to some Venetian merchants, for moneys taken up by the king. The loss of a battle would have afflicted the citizens of Paris less sensibly than the removal of this loved object of their devotion; and it was found necessary to provide them with a compensation. At the approach of the ensuing Easter, therefore, an announcement was made from all the pulpits in the capital, that a new crucifix, on the model of that which had been stolen, had been erected in the *Sainte Chapelle*; that it contained another piece of the true cross which had hitherto been deposited in the inner treasury; and that, during the holy week, it would be submitted to public inspection, and to the customary worship of the faithful. "At which notification," says the journalist who relates these facts, "the good citizens, not less credulous than devout, expressed a marvellous contentment."†

In order to obtain by force the payments which, notwithstanding the stipulations of the truce, were continually eluded, Condé put his army in motion, crossed the frontier, quartered himself in the richest towns of Burgundy, and levied from them 600,000 livres. The difficulties of the court were at the

* De Thou, lxi. 10.

† *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 125, 161.

time increased by the escape of the King of Navarre; who, encouraged by the success of Alençon and profiting by the license which he enjoyed in hunting, evaded the spies who watched his steps; and by a circuitous route reached the French government of Guyenne, almost before his escape was detected. As he rode from the forest of Fontenay to the bank of the Loire, he was wrapped in gloom. The passage of the river appeared to free him from pursuit; and he then, with a deep sigh, thanked God for his deliverance. "In Paris," he said, "they have made away with my mother, they have murdered the admiral and all our best counsellors; and but for the mercy of Heaven, they would have done the same by myself also. Unless I am dragged back thither, never will I return." Then, regaining his usual light and playful tone, he added, "I regret but two things which I have left behind in the city—the mass and my wife. As for the mass, I shall try to do without it—but my wife I will contrive to see again."* In passing through Paris (as we are informed by Sully, whose guidance henceforward is invaluable, and who accompanied the King of Navarre in his escape, and throughout the whole of the subsequent journey), he silently showed that he could dispense with the aid of the public, by a public renewal of his profession of the reformed faith.†

p. 157. Nevertheless, very little cordiality existed between Henry and Marguerite even at that early period. She tells us, that at the time of her escape, she had been confined to bed for several days by "un grand mal sur la moitié du visage et une grosse fièvre." Notwithstanding this, Henry was so occupied by paying attentions to Madame de Nemours, that he found not a single moment to visit his wife's sick-chamber day-time, "et revenant pour se retirer, à l'accoutumée, à une heure après minuit, couchans en deux lits comme nous coutons toujours, je ne l'entendois point venir, et se levant avant que je fusse éveillé, pour se retrouver, comme j'ay dit cy-devant, au lever de sa mère, où Madame de Sauver alloit; il ne souvenoit point à moi, comme il avoit promis à mon frere, et partit de cette chambre sans me dire à Dieu."—Tom. i. lib. ii. p. 101. m. i. liv. i. p. 65. The account given by Sully, an eyewitness, may be doubted; nevertheless, De Thou places Henry's public act of

The sagacity of Catherine perceived, however, that the escape of the King of Navarre was in one sense likely to prove beneficial to her interests; for as he swelled the number of leaders who might pretend to the chief command among the confederates, so also he proportionally increased the chances of mutual jealousy and of consequent disunion. The army now assembled at Moulins was indeed formidable; and had it not been for Alençon's selfishness and impatience of a colleague, it was well prepared to compel its enemies to admit any terms which it might think fit to propose. When the Germans under Condé and Duke Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine, effected their junction with the French, and the Bourbon prince voluntarily surrendered his charge to Alençon, not less than 30,000 finely appointed troops displayed themselves on the plains of La Soze.* The king on the other hand possessed

reconciliation later, and at Niort, lxiii. 2. There might, perhaps, be two acts; of which the first was hasty, the second more formal. D'Aubigné states, that the king, in passing through Alençon, stood godfather to the child of his physician. Caillard; and that when the 21st Psalm happened to occur in the church service of the day, he applied it to himself, and drew from it a good omen. *Hist. Universelle*, tom. ii. liv. ii. c. 18, p. 188.

* An amusing and characteristic anecdote respecting the junction of these armies is preserved by Amiraault, who relates it on the authority of Du Plessis-Mornay. Duke Casimir and his officers, after their arrival, were banqueted by the Huguenots "à l'Allemande: et ce Prince mettoit entre ses louanges qu'il sçavoit aussi bien terrasser ses contre-tenans à la table qu'au combat." La Nouë, Du Plessis-Mornay, and Turenne slept in the same chamber; and, according to their ordinary custom, one of them, in turn, gave out a prayer to his companions before retiring to bed. Turenne, upon whom that duty devolved on the night in question, stopped short after the first clause, and La Nouë, who endeavoured to supply his place, made no better progress. When Mornay was applied to, he had the good sense to suggest that they should go to bed for that night, each man saying his own prayer for himself. "Le lendemain, au matin, eux deux, qui estoient plus jeunes que La Nouë, le railloient de ce que les brindes Allemandes avoient un peu detrempeé sa sagesse et sa gravité." p. 188. No more striking evidence of the general orderly habits of the Reformed camp need be demanded than is furnished by the record of this little irregularity. Once only did La Nouë accommodate himself to the national tastes of his German guests:—

*Narratur et prisca Catonis
Sæpe mero incaluisse virtus.*

of men nor money; and the frivolous, effeminate and degrading habits of his life deprived him of hope of support from personal attachment. Sole reliance was placed on the dexterity of Moline's intrigues, and if they had failed him he would probably have retreated to a cloister.*

A single present object which Catherine proposed to herself, in order to avert the great perils which Henry was environed, was the dissolution of the confederacy. She might defy its members when separated; but in order to break their union, it was necessary that she should deceive. A concession, therefore, by which her purpose might be effected appeared, too great; and, if it had been in her contemplation that the

which she concluded should be put April 21. into execution, there would have been little, if any more which the Huguenots could reasonably demand. Of its LXIII. lengthy articles, those only were noticed here which concern religion. A general amnesty was granted for the past; a free exercise of worship was permitted in every town throughout the kingdom (with the exception of Paris, two leagues around it, and the immediate residence, for the time being, of the court), and in all places in which the consent of the Seigneur might be obtained; books might be published and churches erected by the Huguenots; sermons might be preached, sacraments administered, marriages celebrated, schools taught, and consistories and synods assembled, provided a single royal commissioner were present. All doubts as to the legality of marriages contracted by persons of either sex, who had taken religious vows, and the consequent legiti-

* "There is nothing," said Pope Sixtus V. one day to the Cardinal de Richelieu, "which your king has not done in order to become a monk. There is nothing which I have not done in order to cease to be one." See Sully, tom. i. p. 82. Amelot de la Houssaye, Note on *Lettres*, tom. i. p. 164.

macy of their children, were declared to be at an end; and every post of honour and emolument in the state was rendered as accessible to a Huguenot as to a Romanist. In eight of the royal courts of judicature, Protestant judges were appointed as assessors to the Romanists.* The sentences affecting the memory and the posterity of such leading Huguenots as had perished on the scaffold were reversed; and what piteous recollections are awakened by a roll of blood which included, among others, the names of Coligny, of Briquemaut, of Cavagnes, of Montgomery, and of Montbrun! The king, moreover, was made to declare (and never did more shameless effrontery than that declaration disgrace any instrument of state), that "the disorders and excesses" of the St. Bartholomew "had occurred to his great regret and displeasure;"† and that, as some compensation for the loss endured by the widows and orphans of the massacred, he granted them certain exemptions from fiscal payments. The towns of Beaucaires, Aigues-mortes, Perigueux, Verdun, Nions, Serre, Issoire, and Sene were given up to the Reformed; the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Maréchal D'Amville becoming sureties for their allegiance. As a personal gratification to Duke Casimir, immunities were granted to the Protestants in certain towns to which the emperor pretended; and assurances were given of the speedy discharge of his promised subsidies. To Condé was afforded a hope of re-establishment in the government of Picardy, and a donation of its strongest town Peronne. But to the Duke of Alençon himself accrued the chief advantage from this treaty, which he was proud to hear

* Hence termed, *Chambres my-parties*.

† "Les desordres et excez faits le 24 Aoust et jours suivans, en consequence dudit jour, à Paris et en autres villes et endroits de nostre Royaume sont avenues à nostre tres grand regret et desplaisir." *La Popeliniere*, tom. ii. liv. xi. p. 301.

termed, *La Paix de Monsieur*.* No price, indeed, was deemed exorbitant which could secure his detachment from the Huguenots. He received a pension of 100,000 crowns, and the rich provinces of Berry, Touraine, and Anjou, were annexed to his *apanage*. From the last of these great possessions he derived the title by which he will hereafter be mentioned in our narrative.†

Thus melted away before the promises of a faithless woman the mightiest confederacy which had been formed since the opening of the civil struggles, and the most goodly army which had ever appeared in the field to support the Reformed cause. The Duke of Anjou resorted to his new provinces secure of their possession; but his late comrades in vain awaited the fulfilment of their claims. No payment was forwarded to the quarters upon which Casimir had retired in Burgundy; the gates of Peronne were closed when Condé approached them; and the King of Navarre, happy in not having received any promise, on that account escaped disappointment, and was permitted to amuse himself by hunting in the country about Niort.‡ When his queen expressed a wish to join her husband, Catherine peremptorily refused, on the plea that he was a Huguenot; and Margaret, on her return to Paris, heard the king, her brother, express his dissatisfaction at the conditions of the peace, and avow that they had been granted solely to withdraw the Duke of Anjou from the coalition.§ Popular discontent at the treaty had been early manifested; the walls of the capital had been covered with satirical placards against its negotiators; the clergy had neglected a royal ordinance,

* Sully, tom. i. liv. i. p. 67.

† Amiraault, p. 192.

‡ "Navarrus qui serius se ad partes applicuit, serius quoque promissa ex pace commoda sensit, et aliquamdiu circa Niortium tempus venationis specie contrivit."—De Thou, lxiii. 1.

§ *Mem. de la Reyne Marguerite*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 111.

enjoining the solemnization of a *Te Deum* ; and even the rabble had evinced coldness in assisting at the customary boisterous testimonials of public joy, bon-fires and illuminations.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Ambitious Projects of the Duke of Guise—Origin and Progress of the League—Mémorial of Nicolas David—First States General at Blois—The King declares himself Chief of the League—The King of Navarre appointed Protector of the Huguenots—Frivolity of Henry III.—Disadvantageous circumstances of the Huguenots—Beza and the Ministers oppose Negotiation—Peace of Bergerac—IXth National Synod—Corruption of the Court—The Minions—Second Flight of the Duke of Anjou—Treaty of Nerac—Xth National Synod—War rashly renewed by the Huguenots—Peace of Fleix.

LITTLE as it was Henry's intention to observe the conditions of this peace, its very signature exposed him to far greater dangers than any with which he could have been menaced by the most triumphant ascendancy of the Huguenots. At no period during which the Reformed were in arms do they appear to have entertained any object beyond the establishment of a free toleration of their religion ; but there existed in the kingdom another and a most powerful faction not without hope of attaining undue aggrandizement by every mistake into which the weak monarch who now swayed the sceptre should be betrayed. The Duke of Guise, who inherited all the brilliant qualities of his father, and at least equalled him in ambition, had unsuccessfully aspired during the late reign to alliance with the house of Valois by marriage with the Princess Margaret. Henry, as Duke of Anjou, had professed warm friendship to this nobleman, which, however, had subsided into

* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 167.

ference since his accession to the throne ; and , irritated by the coldness of his reception at , now sought to elevate upon popular support influence in the state which his prince had refused to concede. It has been doubted whether the projects which he ultimately meditated could have developed themselves even to his own mind, and an heir-presumptive to the throne existed in the person of the king's brother. We think, however, there is evidence, which we shall presently add , to show that he thus early contemplated a change in the dynasty ; and even if he constructed gigantic political machinery with no further object at first, than that of rendering himself independent on the favour of the crown, its mighty framework at a later season, placed the crown itself within his grasp.

From the very commencement of the war of religion, private associations had arisen, from time to time in the provinces, with the avowed intention of forming a barrier against the Huguenots ;* and the zealous Romanists, alarmed at the pertinacity of the Reformed, had banded together in order to avert their depression. But, although the principle upon which these petty confederacies were formed was unfriendly to subordination, they do not appear to have excited much notice, nor to have impeded the free movements of government. Guise at once perceived how powerful an engine would be placed at his command, if he could combine these scattered and isolated associations into one great general union, of which himself should be the leader ; and the dissatisfaction created by the recent peace afforded him a favourable moment for the attempt. On many occasions it was advisable that this scheme should first originate from the capital, which had ever afforded

* *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, tom. I. p. 649.

to the house of Guise its strongest hold upon popularity, and whose example, it was justly thought, could not fail to win numerous followers in the provinces. Agents for this purpose were readily found in a licentious and unruly metropolis ; and a few desperate men of broken fortunes and debauched habits, looking to revolution as the most prolific source from which they might hope to replenish their purses, to gratify their ambition, and to satiate their voluptuousness, formed the nucleus round which was to be gathered the formidable conspiracy of the LEAGUE.

As a lure to the unwary, it was at first whispered that the king himself, unwilling to appear openly in the project, approved and encouraged it in secret ; and many of the richer and well-affected citizens, thus blinded to the danger of organizing a body which in the end might overrule their legitimate rulers, and hurried on by a zealous abhorrence of the Huguenots, frequented the private assemblies of the factious. A few, more prudent than their brethren, felt surprised that a design which was supposed to be indirectly authorized by the king should still be without sanction from any of the king's ministers ; and they accordingly made closer inquiries of a magistrate on whose wisdom and integrity they reposed unlimited confidence. The First President, De Thou, whom they consulted, at once declared his own entire ignorance of the confederacy, his belief that it was formed without the king's knowledge, and his conviction of its impolicy ; and concluded by advising that they should abstain from connexion with it.*

The impediments thus unexpectedly opposed in the capital determined the Guises to seek strength by obtaining more open avowals from some of the provincial noblesse, who had assured them of co-

* De Thou, lxiii. 1.

operation. It is not ascertained whether any formal document had been previously subscribed by the league in Paris; but one of the earliest* Acts of Association which has descended to us was prepared by the Seigneur d'Humieres, who held a temporary command in Picardy. A personal feud with Condé,† and a well-founded apprehension that if that prince were once allowed to re-enter his government his own power would be at an end, stimulated D'Humieres to great activity. He was popular both among his brother gentry and the rich bourgeois of the large towns; and he readily obtained numerous signatures to a solemn engagement which he proposed to the following effect:‡—the undersigned declared, in the name of the Holy Trinity, that they would exercise their utmost power to preserve their ancient worship, according to the rites of the true Apostolical Church, rejecting all the errors by which it was opposed; that they would defend their king Henry III., maintaining the duty, obedience, and reverence which they owed him as subjects, as should be more fully expressed in the approaching States-General; and that they would assert, for all the provinces in the kingdom and the several orders contained in them, those ancient rights, prerogatives, immunities, and liberties which they had possessed in the time of Clovis, the founder of Christianity in France.

The clause last noticed, by its vague and indefinite wording, opened a door through which the League might direct its reforming powers to any

* La Popeliniere gives the substance of a league entered into by the inhabitants of Poitou, in 1575. Tom. ii. lib. xxxix. p. 267.

† Davila, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 355.

‡ This *Ligue de Peronne*, as it is termed, may be found verbatim, among other places, in the beginning of the *Chronologie Novenaire* of the apostate Huguenot minister, Cayet. Davila, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 356, and De Thou, lxi. 1. have abstracted it faithfully. Other leagues, with occasional slight variations of form, are given by D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 3, and in the *Memoires de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 116, 428, 627.

object, however unconnected with religion, the sole avowed purpose for its construction. But the articles which succeeded were yet more dangerous ; for they virtually transferred all supremacy from the crown to the future leader, whoever he might be, of this self-constituted association. The confederates bound themselves by oath to dedicate, not only their fortunes, but their lives also, to suppress any opponents of the League and to obtain the fulfilment of its conditions : to avenge every injury offered to their associates, either by an ordinary appeal to the magistrates or by an extraordinary assumption of arms, without any respect whatsoever of persons : to consider any inhabitant of the provinces who declined connexion with their band as a traitor and a renegade from God, to enforce his punishment with unremitting severity, and to assure its agents of entire impunity ;* to create a chief of the League to whom all of them would yield prompt, implicit, and unconditional obedience, and who might punish the negligent or the refractory at his pleasure : to invite all their fellow-subjects to communicate with them ; to supply, according to the extent of each man's ability, arms, troops, and money ; to resort in all disputes to the arbitration of their chief, and not to appeal to the magistrates without his permission.

Similar terms of union were signed by the inhabitants of Poitou and of some other provinces ; and however secretly these negotiations were con-

* In one league given in the *Mém. de Nevers* (that of Champagne en Brie, Dec. 11, 1576), this clause is couched in very terrific language. "Et si aucun desdits Catholiques de ladite province après avoir esté requis d'entrer en ladite association faisoit difficulté, ou usest de longueur, attendu que ce n'est que pour l'honneur de Dieu, le service du Roy, le bien et repos de la Patrie, sera estimé en tout le pays ennemy de Dieu et deserteur de sa Religion, rebelle à son Roy, traître et proditeur de sa Patrie, et du commun consentement de tous les gens de bien abandonné de tous, délaissé et exposé à toutes injures et oppressions qui luy pourrout survenir, sans qu'il soit jammais receu en compagnie, amitié, et alliance des susdits associez et confederez."—Tom. i. p. 116.

ducted, enough relative to them could not fail to transpire so as to awaken a just, although a somewhat undefined, suspicion in the mind of Henry. Before the close of the year, a very extraordinary document, published by the Huguenots, and circulated with great activity, must have removed every doubt of the treasonable designs of the Duke of Guise. It appears that among the agents employed by his party was a Gascon advocate, Nicolas David; a man of ill-repute, and of whom, among other matters tending to his disgrace, it had been remarked that he undertook causes so little worthy of support, or conducted them so unskilfully, that in no instance had he ever pleaded with success before the parliament of Paris. Some injury which he had suffered from the Huguenots during the former wars engendered in him the deadliest hostility against their church; and, burning with a desire of revenge which the recent edict prevented him from compassing by other means, he tendered his services to the chief promoters of the League. By them he was employed on a secret mission to Rome; where he was to communicate with the pope, through the mediation of the Cardinal de Pellevé, an inveterate partisan of the house of Guise.* While on his return from that diplomacy, he fell sick and died at Lyons; and one document among his papers, which by accident had fallen into the possession of the Huguenots, was discovered to be so important as to justify its publication.†

This instrument contained the heads of a secret conference held between Gregory XIII. and some of his most confidential advisers. It stated that since the usurpation of the crown of France by Hugh Capet, the apostolical benediction, which had rested peculiarly upon the Carlovingian line,‡ had

* *Antico allievo della Casa de Guisè.* Davila, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 358.

† De Thou, lxxii. 8.

‡ The nature of this pretended benediction is explained by De Thou,

been converted into a curse, rendering his successors disobedient to the holy see. Through that curse had been introduced the damnable error called the liberty of the Gallican Church ; which, in truth, in former times had been nothing else than an asylum for the Valdenses, the Albigenses, and the *Pauvres* of Lyons, and now offered similar immunities to the Lutherans. Through that curse also the victories gained over the heretics, sixteen years ago, had been rendered fruitless ; and through it France would continue subjected to an evil influence, so long as the sceptre should remain in the hands of the family of Capet.

For there is no one, continued this remarkable document, who must not perceive that all the members of the race of Capet are driven headlong by a reprobate spirit. Some among them, labouring under aberrations of intellect, are stupid, dull, and heavy : others, detestable alike by God and man on account of their heresies, are rejected and proscribed from all communion with the church. For the most part, they perish in the very flower of their age, without leaving issue ; and it appears as if the succession would be transferred to absolute heretics, to the great injury of the apostolic see. The leading object, therefore, of all true Catholics ought to be to restore the crown to the legitimate heirs of Charlemagne.

A plan of operations, in order to produce that de-

ibid. When Pope Stephen II. visited France, A. D. 753, in order to obtain assistance from Pepin, he was attacked by a dangerous sickness. His cure was effected while he was sleeping in the church of St. Denis, where St. Peter and St. Paul, in a beatific vision, commanded him to anoint Pepin and his sons kings. The nobles in consequence made a solemn vow never to admit any but a descendant of Pepin to wear the crown of France. *Ex Epistola Stephani II. a Regnante Prumiens Abbate in Chronicis commemorata, sub anno DCLIII. quod idem a Sigiberto proditur.* The editors of the *Mémoires de la Ligue* vehemently defend this legend. After giving a French translation of the letter, they affirm, *les faits qu'elle contient sont vrais, et nos meilleurs Historiens Ecclesiastiques n'en ont révoqués aucun en doute. Le Ridicule que le Traducteur y suppose est sans fondement.* Tom. I^e p. 151.

sired result, was then suggested. Exciting and spirit-stirring sermons were to be preached in all the great cities; and the abominable assemblies of the heretics permitted by the late edict were to be altogether prevented. The king was to be advised not to suppress the popular movements which might succeed, but in private to commit unlimited power to the Duke of Guise; who, sanctioned by the royal authority, would connect himself with all the nobility and leading citizens, and bind them by oath not to recognise any other chief than himself. The priests throughout the kingdom were to furnish him with lists of every male in their separate cures capable of bearing arms; all of whom should be embodied under captains despatched to each parish. The priests also were to be enjoined to exhort these conscripts during confession, and to lay before them the justice and righteousness of the war in which they were about to be engaged. The king would convene the States General (a pit which the heretics were said to have dug for themselves) with all due regard to ancient and established forms; and he would endeavour to allure to them the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, denouncing them as rebels and traitors if they should disobey. To dispel all suspicion, the Duke of Guise would quit the court under some pretext of affront; and the king would receive and entertain with the uttermost good-will and cheerfulness all those whom he wished to inspire with confidence. About the time of the opening of the States General, the captains in the several parishes would review their troops, and prepare a chosen body of them for active service. The several deputies of the states would be bound by oath to abide by the decrees of that assembly; and the pope should be requested to ratify those decrees whatever they might be, and to give them authority equal to that possessed by the Pragmatic Sanction. In order to prepare the way for the

downfall of the Capets, it should then be decreed, that if any prince of the blood dared to appeal against the decision of the states, he should for ever be excluded from his chance of succession : if any noble did the like, he should be stripped of whatever dignity or high office he might hold ; be subjected to confiscation of all his property ; if he were present, be condemned to capital punishment ; if absent, be executed in effigy and have a price set upon his head. The king should next be absolved by the pope from the oaths by which he had ratified his concessions to the heretics ; and a given time having been allowed them for reconciliation to the church, all recusants should be punished as traitors.

To prevent any impediment to the rapid fulfilment of this scheme, by risings in the provinces, the king should be prevailed upon to nominate, as lieutenant-general, some nobleman of distinguished military skill, fitted to the toils of war by spirit, temper, youth, and bodily activity, and who, more especially, had ever manifested himself altogether free from any spot or stain of heretical contagion. It was obvious that in the Duke of Guise all those qualifications were united. Next, the Duke of Anjou should be admonished of the great wickedness which he had committed in deserting the king his brother, and in becoming a companion and leader of heretics ; in having extorted more than his due portion of *apanage*, and in having obtained license for the celebration of the execrable Huguenot worship throughout all France. For these highest of all treasons against powers divine as well as human, he had placed himself beyond the reach of pardon. Judges therefore should be appointed to sentence him, having before their eyes the most holy and most pious example of the Catholic king, who had not spared even his only son.*

* "*Juxta sanctissimum et piissimum exemplum Regis Catholici qui unico filio suo non pepercit.*"

On the day of the breaking up of the states, the militia organized in the several parishes, and all the other disposable forces of the kingdom should be assembled to arrest the Duke of Anjou and his accomplices ; to attack and put to the sword throughout France all heretics, their friends, and fosterers ; and to confiscate their property towards the support of the expenses of this war. Thus the Duke of Guise, placed at the head of a very powerful army, would easily subdue the insurgent provinces ; and by ravaging and wasting the country far and wide, with fire and sword, and by sacking or starving the fortified towns, he would save all the time which on a former occasion had been fruitlessly expended in the regular siege of La Rochelle.

Having triumphantly opened a passage into the chief cities of the kingdom, and conciliated the attachment of the nobility, the Duke of Guise should then proceed to the execution of the Duke of Anjou and his companions in crime ; and in the end, by the permission and advice of his holiness, he should confine the king and queen in a monastery ; following the example of his royal ancestor Pepin, who, having entrapped King Childeric by similar stratagems, forced him into a cloister. In this manner, the secular heirdom of the French crown would become reunited with the apostolic benediction, which of right belongs only to a descendant of Charlemagne ; the holy see would recover its ancient dignity, power, and authority ; and what are called the privileges of the Gallican Church would be abrogated ; the pope having first bound himself by oath to administer his rights with justice and integrity.*

* David's *Mémoire* is printed in French, at the beginning of vol. i. of the *Mémoires de la Ligue*, where the original date stands Lyons, Nov. 15, 1576. Its substance is given by De Thou, lxiii. 8. We have used a Latin translation. "Summa secreti cujusdam consilii habiti inter Papam et viros quosdam quibus maxime fidebat, reperta inter schedas

It is a matter of surprise that a project thus daring should have been committed undisguisedly to paper and exposed to the hazard of that interception which really befell it; but it would be difficult to reconcile the exact coincidence in many particulars between the line of conduct really pursued by the Duke of Guise, both at the time and in after years, and that here laid down for him, unless we suppose that his intentions had been confidentially revealed to David. The king, prejudiced in favour of the avowed principles of the family of Lorraine, and inflamed with hatred against the Reformed, at first doubted the authenticity of this statement, and maintained that the scheme which it detailed was too atrocious to deserve credit. He was undeceived by his ambassador at Madrid, who transmitted from that court a copy of the original paper, which had been offered by the Leaguers to the King of Spain for his approval.* Henry, thus awakened to the real design of the League, for a while dissembled his knowledge; and afterward thought to elude by stratagem the peril which he had not the courage to encounter front to front.

The States General assembled at Blois about the

Advocati Davidis, 1576." This version occurs as the first document in a Collection printed at Frankfort in 1586. "De postremis motibus Galliarum varia utriusque partis scripta scitu dignissima."

* "Postea, iidem in Hispaniam missis, ut cum Philippo communicarentur, Joannes Viconus Sangoartius qui Regis Oratorem istic agebat, vir supra natalium splendorem virtute bellicâ et fide erga Regem insignis, et alioqui maximè omnium à Protestantium partibus alienus, exemplum eorum nactus statim ad regem perferendum curavit; ut mihi ipse postea narravit."—De Thou, lxiii. 8. The concluding words, which rest the fact upon personal knowledge, as is so often the case with De Thou, are decisive as to its truth. Davila, while strongly impugning the authenticity of David's *Mémoire*, unwittingly corroborates De Thou's account. "Ma molto più di questa divulgatione, universalmente creduta falsa, emplerono il Rè di sospetto le Lettere de Monsignore di San Goart, Ambasciadore suo residente alla Corte de Spagna, il quale l'avvisava d'haverlo scoperto, che alcuni collegati Catolici de Francia trattavano strettamente negotii secreti a quella Corte."—lib. vi. tom. i. p. 359. The Italian historian plainly did not know that St. Goart effected Henry's conviction by enclosing in his despatches a copy of David's *Mémoire*.

middle of November,* and the king, accompanied by the Duke of Anjou, who had reappeared at court, opened the sittings with much solemnity on the 6th of December. Guise himself was Dec. 6.

at first absent; but a great majority of the provincial deputies were in his interest, and had absolutely subscribed the League. One of their earliest proposals must have increased the king's conviction of a settled design to invade his prerogative. In order, as was said, to expedite the progress of business, they requested him to permit the appointment of certain commissioners, whose duty should be to confer with twelve of the deputies; and they prayed also that the decisions of the body so constituted should have the authority of law, and be irrevocable and without appeal. The king listened with gentleness to this insidious application, which so remarkably confirmed one part of David's statement. To accept it would have been to transfer his sovereignty to the states; and he replied that he would receive their twelve deputies promptly and graciously, whenever they should request an audience, and would deliberate with his council on the questions which they might submit to him; that he would acquaint the states, as some of his predecessors had done before him, with the names of those personages who composed his council, so that they might form a judgment of their qualifications; but that he never would consent to administer the government by any other rule than that which the ancient constitution prescribed.†

* A Journal of the transactions of these States General, kept by Conague, Duke of Nevers, is printed in vol. iii. of the *Journal de Henri III.* Although it occupies 166 pages, it presents but a very dry and meager skeleton. Sometimes, however, the outlines of grave business are relieved by notices of lighter matter; as that one of Catherine's maids of honour was dismissed for making an assignation à minuit en *Fallée de devant leur chambre* (p. 187); or that *Le Roy commence à porter des verres d'oreille, ce qu'il n'avoit fait plusieurs mois sont* (p. 153).

† Davila, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 366. *Journal de Nevers*, p. 78.

Happy would it have been for Henry if he had throughout evinced similar firmness. Perceiving that the majority of the states were about to hurry him into a renewal of war, without sufficiently providing for its exigencies, he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with the Huguenot leaders. But he had already taken a fatal step, by which all their confidence in his sincerity was destroyed. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been far too cautious to place themselves at the mercy of their enemies by obeying the royal summons to Blois, but they were represented there by deputies, who supplied them with accurate intelligence. Through that channel they were informed

that Henry had already signed the League, and had declared himself its chief.* The short-sighted prince, eagerly catching at the momentary advantage to be derived by the substitution of his own name for that of the Duke of Guise, degraded himself from the lofty post of common father of his people, and became the head of a cabal. The warlike aspect of the states, their undisguised avowal that they would not permit the existence of more than one religion in France, and the virtual adoption of that principle by the king when he joined the League, had determined Navarre, Condé, and D'Amville upon immediate measures of precaution. Not awaiting an open declaration of the hostilities which they foresaw were inevitable, they strengthened themselves for the approaching contest by occupying such fortresses as were at their command; by protesting against the legality of the states, and by negotiating a counter-league with the northern kingdoms, with England, and with the Protestants of Germany. Navarre was declared protector, and Condé his lieutenant-general.

War, indeed, although not yet proclaimed, had in truth began before the close of the year 1576; and

* De Thou, *liv. 9.*

many gallant acts, and, alas ! many atrocious cruelties arising from it, may be found in the memoirs of the times. But from such details, powerful as is their interest, we must henceforward sedulously forbear. The period upon which we are now entering is most abundant in secret and minute history ; in materials greatly differing in value, and requiring close examination and a well-poised judgment, if we would separate the authentic from the doubtful. To the chivalrous personal career which Henry of Navarre now commenced, whole volumes might justly be dedicated ; but it has been frequently and brilliantly related by other pens. If, therefore, in our future pages, we pass rapidly over many transactions which it costs no small sacrifice of inclination to dismiss with a mere summary notice, the reader must bear in mind that we are writing neither a history of the wars of the League nor a Life of Henry IV., and that in the annals of the Reformed Religion in France, the foremost position ought ever to be occupied by the Huguenot Church.

The apprehension of danger failed to awaken the weak king from his voluptuous lethargy. One of the chief difficulties which he encountered at Blois arose from the reluctance of the states to feed his profusion. Nevertheless, when every *liard* of the scanty subsidies which they furnished was demanded for the public service, he did not hesitate to divert large sums to the gratification of his passion for frivolous amusement. The Huguenots, already in arms, had intercepted a booty which in their eyes indeed possessed little value ; or which, to speak more precisely, was viewed by them with disgust and abhorrence ; but owing to the widely opposite habits of the court, it was redeemed by a very considerable payment. Henry was transporting from Venice a company of players, *I Gelosi* ; and the surrender of his chief city would, perhaps, have occasioned him less real sorrow than the interruption

of pleasure which he suffered by their untoward capture. Not a moment was lost in tendering whatever ransom might be demanded for their release; and on their arrival at Blois, the very hall in which the deputies were labouring during the early part of the day to entangle their sovereign in vassalage was devoted by the careless prince at night to dramatic entertainments.* "This evening," says the Duke of Nevers, "was represented a pastoral by the comedians; notwithstanding the preacher of the morning had warned the king not to attend, and had denounced God's vengeance upon the little signs of amendment which were evinced in spite of his exhortation."† We hear of the *Gelosi* afterward, on the return of the court to Paris, as continuing their performances in the Hôtel de Bourbon. Although the price of admission was high, not less than four sols for each person, we are assured that they drew a larger audience than could have been attracted by the four best preachers in the capital, if they had held forth together.‡ At length, the parliament, in an assembly of their Mercuriales, presented them as the occasion of much licentiousness; and although they offered letters-patent from the king as their protection, they were forbidden to play, under a penalty of 10,000 livres; but within two nights of this prohibition they recommenced at the Hôtel de Bourbon, by express royal command.§

Two royal armies took the field in April; one, under the command of the Duke of Anjou, besieged Chartres; the other, under that of Guise's younger brother, the Duke of Mayenne, proceeded to the neighbourhood of La Rochelle. Both were eminently successful; for the Huguenots, notwith-

* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 202.

† Feb. 28. *Journal de Nevers*, p. 202.

‡ *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 206.

§ *Id.* p. 211. "La corruption de ce tems étant telle que les Farceurs, Bouffons, Putaines, et Mignons avoient tout credit auprès du Roy."

standing their foresight of approaching danger, were weakened by internal dissension, inferior in numbers, and unsupported by their foreign allies. The Rochellois manifested an unseasonable distrust of Condé; in the camp of the King of Navarre, the mixture of Romanists and Reformed produced disunion, and in more than one instance occasioned even personal rencounters among the leaders.* The austere morals of the Calvinists little accorded with the license which, agreeably to the prediction of Du Plessis-Mornay, had been introduced by the *Politiques*; and the leprosy of debauch with which those formerly pure had now become inoculated, appears so virulent in the eyes of La Popeliniere, that he thinks it "better to suppress a history thus execrable than to bequeath it to posterity."† The Queen of England displayed her usual prudent backwardness, and forebore from meddling openly in the civil struggles of France; and the German powers, still smarting under a remembrance of the little benefit which they had derived from former services, were tardy in yielding fresh assistance. In addition to these disappointments, D'Amville also had already shown signs of wavering fidelity. Not long before, when he had proposed to the King of Navarre that the Turks might be invited to take possession of Aigues-mortes, in order to complete an advantageous peace by the terror of their invasion, Du Plessis was instructed to reject this extreme measure with undissembled disgust, and to represent, in a long and detailed memorial, the im-

* If the King of Navarre himself had not parted them, the Marquis de Lavardin, one of his Romanist officers, and the discreet and temperate La Noué would have fought in his presence. *Vous ne sauriez m'apprendre mon mestier*, was the haughty remark of the former upon some advice which the latter had offered; and when La Noué replied with point and spirit, *J'y aurois trop de peine*, each clapped his hand upon his sword. Amirault, p. 230.

† Cited by Amirault, p. 238.

piety and the impolicy of a scheme so offensive both to religion and to patriotism.*

La Charité surrendered to the Duke of Anjou in May, and Yssoire was stormed by him in June, with a fearful destruction of life and property.† By the middle of August, the Duke of Mayenne, having been equally victorious at Brouage, which capitulated after a brilliant defence, advanced to menace La Rochelle. These symptoms of a failing cause put an end to the hesitation of D'Amville; and wearied of his confederates and allured by promises from the court, he abandoned the association of which he had been the original promoter, and accepting the command of a division of royalist troops, invested Montpellier. If these disasters and this treachery inclined Navarre to accept peace, there were scarcely less cogent reasons which induced the king to offer it. His indolent and effeminate habits prompted him at all times to seek repose; he had been compelled against his will to take arms; his finances were ill able to support protracted hostilities; and from a natural jealousy arising out of the contrast between his own feebleness and the activity of the Dukes of Anjou and of Mayenne, he cared not how soon their triumphs were brought to a conclusion.

Each party therefore was ripe for negotiation, and the only difficulty which the King of Navarre encountered arose from the opposition of his divines. In the early part of the summer, a modification of the last edict had been proffered to him, and a rumour of that offer having penetrated to Geneva, called forth a strong remonstrance from Beza: "You will forgive the defects, sire," wrote that zealous minister, "of the advice which I presume to suggest, and you will attribute its boldness to the

* *Id.* p. 210.

† De Thou, *lxiii.* 29, 30.

desire which I feel to be useful according to my poor ability, and to the great fear which I entertain lest in a new peace we should be treated as we have ever been heretofore. In truth, I am unable to discover how, with a safe conscience, we can agree to limit the Spirit of God to certain spots and places; and more especially to exclude it from cities, which are not exposed to death and mutability, like the hearts and houses of kings and of all other men, however exalted may be their quality. As little do I perceive in what manner we can consent to grant entire impunity for former massacres, and wholly to close the door against those demands for justice to which God may one day give an opening. It cannot enter into my belief that God will bless such reconciliation: so that I would rather advise that we should place our heads upon the block, and suffer tamely without resistance (if matters proceed to such an extremity), than that we should accept the conditions now offered. They tell me that the Catholics of Bearne are urgent for a restoration of their worship. But let me entreat you to consider that there is a wide difference between tolerating idolatry for a season, until you have an opportunity to expel it, and re-establishing it after it has once been legally abolished; a step which I cannot but think would arouse the grievous wrath of the Lord, of which the issue must be deplorable."^a

Notwithstanding this and other similar opposition from the fervour of the ministers, a sound expediency plainly dictated the acceptance of the proffered terms. The treaty signed at Bergerac and at Poitiers in September differed in ^{Sept. 17.} but few particulars from the edict which had terminated the former war. The king affirmed that the decision of the states at Blois to forbid the exercise

^a Dated from Geneva, May 18, 1577. *Amirault*, p. 228.

of any religion in France, excepting that of the true and Apostolical Church, still appeared to be the surest remedy for intestine trouble: nevertheless that, since it had not been God's will to allow him to reap the fruit which he desired, he was content to put an end to the sufferings which his poor people endured through war, by the present edict: until it might please God, by means of a good, free, and lawful general council, to unite all his subjects to the Catholic Church. By subsequent Articles, the limits within which the exercise of the Reformed religion was forbidden were extended from two to ten leagues round Paris or the actual residence of the court. It was altogether prohibited in the marquisate of Saluces and in the country of Venaissin; certain changes were made in the towns which the Huguenots were permitted to occupy, and in the number and constitution of the *my-parties* courts. The more severe denouncers of the superstition of Rome might perhaps feel deep offence at a clause which enjoined them to observe all the festivals established by that Church; on such occasions neither to work nor to expose goods for sale; and not to open the shambles at times on which the use of flesh was unlawful. The more fiery cherishers of party-spirit might lament a wise enactment forbidding processions in commemoration of the death of the Prince of Condé, of "what happened on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572,"* and of all other acts which might refresh the memory of past troubles. But every Huguenot must have received with joy an ordinance by which all leagues, fellowships, and associations were declared to be cancelled and annulled.

Equal satisfaction appears to have been felt by the leaders on both sides at the ratification of this peace. The king spoke of it as *his own* edict; the Prince of Condé, who received it late at night at

* *De ce advient le jour St. Barthelemy. Edit de Pacification. Art. xxxvii. Mém. de Nevers, tom. i. p. 290.*

La Rochelle, ordered it to be proclaimed at the moment by torch-light;* La Nouë, who was despatched by the King of Navarre to the Huguenots of Languedoc, had the singular good fortune to arrive in time to prevent much fruitless bloodshed; and his adventure is a remarkable illustration of the uncertainty always attending war when conducted by independent partisanship. As he entered the plain which skirts the walls of Montpellier, he discovered not far off two large bodies of troops in hostile array. The orders for engagement had been issued, and the forlorn hopes on either side were already in motion to commence skirmishing.† La Nouë at once recognised the forces of D'Amville who besieged the town, and those of Châtillon who had hastened to its relief. He ordered his courier to blow two hasty blasts upon his horn, that by attracting attention he might prevent the outposts from firing upon him;‡ and then, clapping spurs to his horse, he dashed at full speed between the advancing ranks, and holding up in his right hand a copy of the treaty, shouted, "Peace, Peace!"

The assemblage of the IXth National 1578.
 Synod of the Reformed churches of France, Feb. 2.
 which took place in the following February Feb. 14.
 at St. Foy, in Perigord, seems to speak no small increase of confidence in the Huguenots as to their personal safety. During the last five troubled years their internal discipline must have been regulated by stealth, and the Church in its corporate capacity had been wholly unrepresented. Merlin, the late admiral's chaplain, was elected moderator, and the Viscount de Turenne appeared as proxy for the King of Navarre. The necessity of a provision for the education of youth was strongly urged, although

* Davila, lib. vi. tom. i. p. 375.

† "Les enfans-perdus marchans pour commencer l'escarmouche."
 —Amirault, p. 230.

‡ "Fit donner deux coups de huchet à son postillon, afin qu'on ne tirast pas sur luy."—*Id. ibid.*

perhaps scarcely enough caution was evinced in the selection of preceptors. We read of a common rogue, with three aliases to his name, who "hath temerariouſly intruded himſelf into the miniſtry without any call, forged divers letters, clipped his majeſty's coin, melted down the clippings into baſe ſilver lingots, and vended thoſe to ſeveral goldſmiths in the city of Sedan, for which the civil magiſtrates inflicted corporal puniſhment upon him in the ſaid city, all of which he could not but acknowledge and confeſs to be true before this aſſembly." For theſe offences the criminal was ſentenced to be depoſed from the miniſtry, as a perſon incapable and utterly unworthy of it; to be continued on the roll of vagrants; and to do public penance in the church in which he had preſumed to officiate. Nevertheless, we find it added, to our no ſmall aſtoniſhment, "We do license him to keep ſchool and to inſtruct youth." The plea advanced for the appointment is "his deep poverty and great and numerous family of children;" the precaution adopted againſt its danger is an injunction to the miniſters of the places in which he ſhall live, "to watch over him and his deportment with a very ſtrict and careful eye."* It ſeems to us that either the dearth of ſchoolmaſters in thoſe times muſt have been extreme, or that the eſtimate of the relative influence of precept and example held an inverse ratio to that which is now eſtabliſhed among ourſelves by a proverbial expreſſion.

The duty of frequent catechiſing was preſſed upon the miniſters in very ſenſible terms; they were enjoined to uſe "ſhort, plain, and familiar queſtions and answers, accommodatiſg themſelves to the weakneſs and capacity of their people, without enlargement or handling of commonplaces."† In their ſermons, alſo, they were exhorted "not to

* Chapter viii. Art. 5.

† Chapter ii. Art. 7.

dwell long upon a text, but to expound and treat of as many in their ministry as they can; fleeing up of ostentation, and long digressions, and heaping up of parallel places and quotations; nor ought they to propound divers senses and expositions, nor to allege, unless very rarely and prudently, any passages of the Fathers; nor shall they cite profane authors and stories, that so the Scriptures may be left in their full and sovereign authority.* Then again, with that strange blending of the most weighty and the most frivolous legislation which characterized all their former synods, the divines proceed to affix punishments to atrocities which it may be hoped and believed were not likely to demand their frequent cognizance; and in the same breath to propound sumptuary laws and to enunciate canons of criticism. "Such as commit enormous crimes, such as incests, murders, and the like, shall be without any more ado cut off from communion at the Lord's Table, and their suspension shall be published in church."† "That article concerning the immodest habits and fashions of men and women shall be observed with the greatest care imaginable. And both sexes are required to keep modesty in their hair, and every thing else, so that no scandal may be given to our neighbour."‡ "Such as shall put into verse or poems Scripture stories are admonished not to blend nor mingle poetical fables with them; nor to ascribe unto God the names of false gods; nor to add to nor diminish from the sacred Scriptures, but to confine themselves strictly to the Scripture terms."§

One transaction of this synod evinces the inordinate authority affected by the ministers over persons of the highest rank in their church. It appears that the consistory of La Rochelle had "dissuaded" (a

* Chapter ii. Art. 7.
† *Ibid.* Art. 20.

‡ Chapter iv. Art. 24.
§ *Ibid.* Art. 21.

gentle term) the Prince of Condé from communicating at the Lord's Table, because a prize had been taken at sea, by his commission, after the publication of the last edict of peace. The prince replied, that the vessel had been captured before the forty days for "divulging the said peace had expired;" that she belonged to sworn enemies of himself and of the King of Navarre; and moreover (an answer which seemed to preclude any further observation), "that it being a mere civil state matter, the consistory had nothing to do with it." The consistory, however, was not thus easily to be silenced. Its members assured the prince, that "for their parts they could not foresee any thing else but that the Divine vengeance would light down upon them, if they did not oppose such unlawful practices;" that "they could not do less in duty and conscience (considering their office in the church), than to endeavour by all good means to extinguish the fire of such a blazing scandal;" and that they therefore humbly besought the prince "to take kindly this their admonition, and for the future that he would be pleased to exert his authority in such like matters, so that the peace sworn by him may be kept and observed." When the Prince of Condé afterward appealed to the synod against his exclusion from the Lord's Table, he obtained the following reply: "This assembly, having maturely considered the whole affair, doth own, acknowledge, and approve of the zeal and good affection of the church and consistory of La Rochelle, especially in opposing itself against scandalous sins; and that herein they have not acted beyond the line of their duty. Yet, notwithstanding, this assembly could have wished that the said consistory had suspended and deferred their judgment in an affair of so great importance, and had not been so hasty and precipitate about it; that so all suspicion of animosities on either side might have been avoided. And as for his excel-

lency the prince, this assembly doth earnestly beseech him not to misconstrue those remonstrances made him in the name of God, which we judge were but just and needful, and grounded upon the Word of God; and therefore we desire his excellency that he would be pleased to remove the occasion of the said scandal, and take in good part the admonitions of the church, and that he would be reconciled to it." A deputation was appointed to acquaint the prince with this request, and it was finally decreed "that his excellency the said prince shall be received into communion at the Lord's Table."*

The short period of tranquillity which succeeded the peace of Bergerac is crowded by the historians of the time with anecdotes of the follies and the effeminacy of Henry III. Without forming our estimate of the character of that most wretched and degraded prince from the manifestly overcharged statements of contemporary satirists,† more than enough remains to us in the pages of graver and undoubtedly authentic writers to induce as rapid a dismissal of the odious subject as regard for truth will permit. The veil which shrouds the caprea of the Louvre need not be drawn aside in order to exhibit the depravity of his tastes. We read of him in public running at the ring, dressed like an Amazon; and at court festivities affecting a woman's garb, with his doublet thrown open, to expose a throat and breast circled with pearl necklaces and silken collars; his hair disposed in artificial ringlets, and his whole appearance, in the untranslatable strength of the original words, *désespérément brave, frisé et gauderonné*.‡

Each of his original minions, purposely selected without regard to birth, in order to mortify the

* Chapter vii.

† *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites; Les Sorcelleries de Henri de Valois*; and other pieces collected to illustrate the *Journal of Pierre de l'Etoile*.

‡ *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 223.

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hereditary pretensions of the ancient noblesse, perished in the end by a violent death. Quelus, Maugiron, and Livarot in duels, provoked by their insolence;* St. Megrin by the hands of bravoës, in consequence of a reputed intrigue with the Duchess of Guise. The king's weakness displayed itself on their loss by paroxysms of the wildest and most extravagant grief.† Yet amid this unmanly softness, fiercer passions were not unfrequently exhibited; and more than once did the royal palaces themselves become theatres on which private and perhaps imaginary wrongs were revenged by foul assassination. At Poitiers, René de Villequier, a nobleman who shared the confidence and the personal friendship of Henry, poniarded his wife under the very roof occupied by the king at the moment, and as was affirmed also at his master's instigation.‡ Almost within the precincts of the Louvre, the Sieur de la Guast atoned with his blood for too intimate a knowledge of the licentiousness of Margaret of Navarre;§ and no commodity in this most detestable court appears to have been more cheaply regarded than a man's life, unless, indeed, it were a woman's honour.

The influence of the minions over the king seems to have been at its height after the signature of the treaty of Bergerac; and the unwarrantable license which they assumed was regarded with greater disgust by no one than by the Duke of Anjou. In proportion as his rank was more exalted than that of

* The first two in 1578, the last in 1581. *Id.* p. 238, 315.

† During the thirty-three days through which Quelus languished under his wounds, Henry was rarely absent from his couch. "Il les baissa tous deux morts (Quelus et Maugiron), fit tondre leurs têtes, et serrer leurs blondes chevelures: et ôta à Quelus les pendans de ses oreilles, que lui-même auparavant lui avoit donnés et attachés de sa propre main." —*Id.* p. 239.

‡ This murder was perpetrated by Villequier in 1577. De Thou, lxi. 28. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 214.

§ The reader may compare the different accounts of this assassination, which occurred in 1575, given by De Thou, lxi. 10; by Pierre de l'Estoile, tom. 4. p. 140; by Brantôme, *Discours* lxxix. 3, tom. vii. p. 287; and by Queen Margaret herself, liv. ii. p. 111.

others, so did he the more acutely feel the insolence by which its just claims were disregarded. His personal defects exposed him to continual raillery from the youthful gallants fully accomplished in all the exercises of the manège and of the tilt-yard;* he was warned that his liberty, perhaps his life, was endangered in consequence of evil suggestions which they had sedulously whispered into his brother's ear; and, still looking to the troubled state of Flanders, as affording hope of station and power in that country which was denied him in France, he resolved once again to withdraw from court. The gates of the Louvre were sentinelled with jealousy so vigilant that open egress was impossible, and he was compelled to escape by night, from the apartments of his sister Margaret. Feb. 14.

Her windows on the second story overlooked the palace fosse; into which by means of a rope, and with the assistance of her female attendants, she lowered the fugitive.† After the first alarm occasioned by his sudden absence had subsided, he was allowed to remain unregarded at Angiers; till, not many months afterward, the aspect of the court being changed by the accidents which had removed the minions, he ventured upon a return.

Under the pretext of reconducting Margaret to her husband, the queen-mother in the autumn of this year commenced a progress through the southern provinces. The winter months were passed by her

* The representations of the Duke of Anjou's person and habits are almost everywhere disadvantageous. Walsingham describes him, when Duke of Alençon, as "void of any good favour, besides the blemish of the small-pox." (To Lord Burleigh, April 1, 1572. Digges, p. 343.) Henry IV. related to Sully some marked anecdotes of the duke's awkwardness, and summed up his character as follows: "Il me trompera s'il remplit jamais l'attente qu'on conçoit de lui: il a si peu de courage, le cœur si double et si malin, le corps si mal bâti, si peu de grace dans son maintien, tant d'incapacité à toutes sortes d'exercices, que je ne saurois me persuader qu'il fasse jamais rien de grand." tom. i. liv. ii. p. 109.

† A very minute and interesting narrative of this adventure is given by Margaret in her *Mémoires*, liv. ii. p. 167.

at the court of the King of Navarre, chiefly at Nerac; where, amid the pleasures and gallantries to which others were abandoned, the subtle Catherine was occupied in weaving political intrigues. Of the precise nature of her objects it is not easy to speak; for Sully, who of all others might be supposed likely to have obtained their clew, candidly admits that he was too young at the moment to be occupied in attending to them. How ill the peace was observed is sufficiently plain from many of the curious anecdotes which he has preserved. Seldom were hostilities suspended unless within a narrow circuit, scarcely extending to more than a league from the spot at which the court happened to reside; and beyond that pale the courtesies of the banquet and of the dance were exchanged for fierce defiance and deadly combat. One evening, during a fête given by the King of Navarre at Auch, he received secret intelligence that his town of La Réolles had been betrayed. Its governor, a zealous Huguenot, and now advanced in years, had weakly yielded to a passion which one of Catherine's Circes had been instructed to inspire and to encourage; and he had purchased her smiles, and had avenged himself upon his ancient friends for the ridicule which his unseasonable love had excited, by the sacrifice of his loyalty.* The king whispered to Sully and three or four of his more trusty servants to take an opportunity of withdrawing with him from the ball-room, without exciting suspicion. Then, gathering as many followers as could be collected at the spur of the moment, and concealing their arms under hunting-dresses, he

* "D'Ussac estoit viel, et encor plus envielli par les blesseurs qui lui percoient le visage, et mesmes qu'il en avoit dans la bouche, pour lesquelles il parloit difficilement Il s'aperceut que le Roy de Navarre et le Vicomte de Turenne en vouloient passer le temps. Ce mepris lui fut si dur qu'il ne les voulut jamais ni voir ni halener depuis: qui plus est, en quitta Religion et Parti. Voie d'un costé, mon lecteur, que peuvent l'amour et le despit." D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. II. liv. IV. c. 3.

reached by daybreak the gates of Fleurange, a town belonging to the royal jurisdiction, and possessed himself of it without resistance. Catherine, who fully believed that Navarre had slept at Auch on the past night, was beyond measure astonished when informed of her loss on the following morning; but adroitly concealing her chagrin by a jest, she declared that Henry had taken his revenge for La Réolle; "It is nut for nut," she said, "but mine has the better kernel."*

The versatility of Catherine, indeed, accommodated itself with equal readiness both to the staid and solemn habits of the Calvinistic ministers and to the frivolities of the court; and she endeavoured to gain the confidence of the Huguenot divines, by imitating their modes of speech. For that purpose, and to qualify herself for the forms of polemical conversation, she devoted her evenings to the study of a Scriptural vocabulary, learning by heart a profusion of phrases which she termed *consistorial*, and plentifully applying them to the purposes of familiar discourse. The buffoons of the antechamber listened with an incredulous smile when they heard the queen-mother "approve the counsel of Gamaliel," and pronounce a "blessing upon the feet of those who were messengers of peace." If she mentioned the king, it was as "the Lord's anointed," or "the image of the living God," and she had ever on her lips apt citations from the Epistles of St. Peter in support of the powers that be. In the bedchamber, at her *coucher*, she appealed to God on every trifling occasion, summoned the Almighty to adjudge between herself and her attendant ladies, and protested

* Sully, tom. i. liv. l. p. 86. We have used Mrs. Charlotte Lennox's translation (which *sounds* proverbial, although it is not so registered by Ray) for the words imputed to Catherine. The original is still more homely: "Le Roy de Navarre a voulu faire chou pour chou, mais le mien est mieux pommé." Sully cannot be mistaken relative to the date of this transaction, in which he had a personal share; nevertheless, De Thou assigns the treachery at La Réolle to the following summer.

that every word she uttered was true, as she hoped for the favour of Heaven and its angels. By the use of this *language of Canaan*, as it was not inappropriately termed by the wits in her train, Catherine acquired, among some of the blinder Huguenots, a very ill-merited reputation for close acquaintance with theology.*

1579. The treaty of Nerac, with which the con-
Feb. 29. ferences between the queen-mother and the deputies of the Reformed terminated in the following spring, tended but little to produce any increase of mutual confidence. It was for the most part explanatory of certain obscurities in the peace of Bergerac; nevertheless, if it had been rigidly observed, the Huguenots would have derived a few additional benefits from its provisions. They were permitted to buy or to build places of worship; they were authorized to levy assessments for the support of their ministers; and the number of cautionary towns left in their hands was increased from nine to fourteen. Catherine, for the first time, must have been ill satisfied with her diplomacy. She had failed in her hope of alluring Navarre to Paris, and of disarming the suspicions of his followers; she must have perceived that a single spark would at any moment rekindle the flames of war, and that the Huguenots were fully prepared for its outbreak.

Aug. 2. The Xth National Synod assembled at Fi-
Aug. 8. geac in Quercy during the autumn. Its sittings were brief, and the solemnity with which the acts are recorded occasions scarcely less surprise than their nature. The divines were chiefly employed in regulating baptismal names; † in forbidding the "transformation" of either the Canonical or Apocryphal Books of the Holy Bible "into tragedies or comedies;" ‡ and in effectually restraining an evil

* D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. ii. liv. iv. ch. iii. p. 237.

† Chap. ii. Art. 6.

‡ Chap. iii. Art. 12.

propensity to dancing, which, from the interminable warfare waged against it, seems to have been one of the sins by which the Huguenot congregations were most grievously beset. "Ministers and consistories," says the xxvith Article, "are hereby admonished to see that canon concerning dances to be most strictly observed, which is the xxth under the title of *Particular Orders*, forbidding expressly all dances; and also they shall prudently distinguish between such as be contumacious rebels against this holy advice, and those who by their discontinuance of dancing do manifest their having profited by it."* We find also a very pointed denouncement of a custom which it would be difficult to consider as otherwise than wholly indifferent. "Churches that in singing Psalms do first cause each verse to be read shall be advised to forbear that childish custom, and such as have used themselves unto it shall be censured."†

The war which the Huguenots commenced before the year had closed was undertaken unjustly and injudiciously,‡ and owed its origin as much to an unworthy female intrigue as to the existing difference in religion. The king, who hated his sister Margaret, on account of her avowed preference of the Duke of Anjou, spitefully sought to disturb her repose by awakening her husband's jealousy. Her gallantries were notorious, but Henry of Navarre, either careless of his matrimonial honour, or willing to purchase amnesty for his own licentiousness by condonation to his wife, placed the king's letters, which accused her of infidelity with the Viscount de Turenne, in the possession of the very parties whom they inculpated. Margaret was roused to fury; outraged both as a queen and as a woman, she felt her injury with double keenness, since it was inflicted by a brother's hand, which ought to have been raised

* Chap. iii. Art. 26.

† *Ibid.* 29.

‡ "Peut-estre avec peu de justice et certes fort mal-à-propos."—*Perefixe*, p. 57.

to shield, and not to strike.* Burning for revenge, and well schooled in the practice of her mother's artifices, she employed all the energies of an active and subtle intellect to arouse the Huguenots to war. Over many of them she possessed and exercised great personal influence; and, utterly indifferent as to means, provided the object at which she directed them might be attained, she fostered the passion of her husband for one of her own attendants, whom she had tutored to inculcate her wishes.† The ostensible political motive for resistance which she urged was the weakness to which the Huguenots would be reduced if they consented to fulfil the terms of the peace of Bergerac, by surrendering the cautionary towns. The time stipulated for their abandonment was fast approaching, and it was not difficult to persuade Henry that his safety depended upon their retention, and that they could be retained only by an appeal to arms. Such was the origin of this war; the "*Guerre des Amoureux*," as it is termed in French history. "He who would narrate it," says Du Plessis, "will find no small difficulty in treating it with dignity. He must discover some more generous motive as its source than the passion of an angry woman."‡

* "Le Reyne de Navarre qui avoit le cœur grand, comme Reyne, et vindicatif comme Femme: et à qui cela estoit d'autant plus sensible qu'il venoit d'un frere, qui devoit estre protecteur de son honneur."—*Amirault*, 254.

† "Mademoiselle Fosseuse—jeune fille de quatorze ans—cette fille craintive pour son age, au commencement ne pouvoit bien pratiquer les leçons de sa maitresse. Elle la faisoit aider par une fille-de-chambre, nommée Xainte avec laquelle le Roy de Navarre familiarisoit."—*D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ.* tom. ii. liv. iv. c. 5.

‡ Cited by Anquetil in *L'Esprit de la Ligue*, tom. ii. p. 220. Du Plessis has a very similar passage in a letter to M. Languet, in which he states the difficulties which must be encountered in writing the History of Religion in his own times. "Souvent il faudra alleguer pour cause d'un effect ce qui ne l'aura pas esté, une cause genereuse au lieu de l'amour d'une femme et d'une querelle de bordeau; car ainsi que nostre Court a esté ces dernières années gouvernée, vous n'ignorés pas que les pîes sont venues pour la plus part de là."—*Correspondence*, tom. ii. p. 81, *Lett. vii.*

The rising of the Huguenots was far, however, from being general; and the Rochellois, especially, hitherto never backward in the field, forbore from declaring themselves till they had consulted La Nouë. That wise and upright chief, at that time engaged in the Netherlands, answered their inquiries without respect of persons. He avowed his conviction that the war was unjust, and advised them by no means to participate in it. He deprecated the substitution of private interests in lieu of a common cause. He maintained that if the last edict had not been executed by the court in every particular, it had been so for the most part; and that the violations were far too unimportant to demand redress by arms. That not to surrender the cautionary towns would be to commit a flagrant breach of good faith, and would afford the Romanists a powerful excuse for former similar treacheries of which the Huguenots had loudly complained. That whatever inconvenience might be attendant on that surrender should have been foreseen and guarded against before the promise had been pledged; having been once pledged, it must be observed, and the result must be committed to Providence. Lastly, that civil war was so great an evil, and brought with it such an accumulation of misery, that it should always be avoided unless its cause were absolutely just; and that no cause for it could be just, unless founded on an inevitable necessity.*

These sound and honest arguments sufficed to confirm the Rochellois in a maintenance of neutrality, and their example was followed by the Champagnois, the Burgundians, and the Normans. The Reformed, thus divided, were everywhere unfortunate in military operations, and never would their existence have been more endangered than during this war, if it had been pushed with vigour. But

* *Amirault*, p. 256.

the constitutional sluggishness of the king, and the ardour with which the Duke of Anjou sought to direct the whole resources of France to secure for himself the proffered sovereignty of the Netherlands, contributed to their deliverance.

Nov. 26.

Anjou received permission to negotiate a treaty at Fleix in Perigord, which confirmed all the essential provisions before stipulated at Nerac, and in its few slight differences was even more beneficial to the Huguenots.

CHAPTER XV.

Troubled State of France during the Peace—Du Plessis-Mornay's Correspondence—His Sketch of the Huguenot Resources—His Project for a general Union of the Reformed—Its Failure—His Letter to the Cardinal of Vendôme—His bold Declarations to Henry III.—Xlth and Xlth National Synods—Death of the Duke of Anjou—The King of Navarre Presumptive Heir to the Crown—The Cardinal of Bourbon opposed to him by the Guises—Indecision of Henry III.—Manifesto of the League from Peronne—The King of Navarre challenges the Duke of Guise—Violent Edict of Nemours—Sixtus V. disapproves the League, but excommunicates the Bourbons—Their Reclamation—War of the three Henries—The Huguenots negotiate successfully with England and with Germany—Conference at Montbelliard—Imbecility of Henry III.—Conferences at St. Bris—Disposition of the Royal Forces—The Duke of Joyeuse defeated and killed in the Battle of Coutras—Bravery and Moderation of the King of Navarre.

FRANCE had been too long agitated by civil commotions to permit immediate subsidence into tranquillity; and during the four years which ensued, the peace was perhaps almost daily violated on both sides. Much of the internal condition of the Huguenots at that period is to be learned from the numerous state papers which have descended to us; and the correspondence of Du Plessis-Mornay, especially, who became the King of Navarre's *chief* diplomatist, offers inexhaustible portraiture

of motives, measures, and manners. The resources of the Huguenots are displayed much at large in a memorial addressed to the English minister, Walsingham, at a time in which some hope was entertained of forming a general union of the Protestant states of Europe. The patrimonial revenues of Navarre, notwithstanding the improvidence of former kings and the ruinous expenditure of the civil wars, are estimated at 300,000 crowns annually; and the dominions over which Henry exercised the full rights of sovereignty are said to be able to furnish 300 gentlemen handsomely accompanied, and 6000 well-armed arquebusiers. They possessed also an arsenal of spiritual weapons in the university of Orthés, which is described as richly stocked with learned men, and always maintaining fifty students, who, during a ten years' course of divinity, prepared themselves for the ministry of the Gospel. Among the fiefs for which Henry paid vassalage to the crown of France, the county of Foix could provide at least 6000 more arquebusiers. The whole district from the Spanish frontier to Dordogne, a six days' journey, abounding in fertile estates and rich cities, and thickly peopled by a chivalrous nobility, is described as animated by a spirit of profound devotion to the Reformed cause; and the English, it is added, who are acquainted with the history of their own country and of France during the reign of Edward III., more particularly those who are versed in the pages of Froissart, need not be reminded how great at that time was the power of a Count de Foix, of a Count d'Armagnac, and of a Duke d'Alberty; and will therefore sufficiently understand how far more commanding must be the influence of a prince who unites the scattered possessions of those nobles, improved in wealth and cultivation, under his single rule.

Omitting less noted spots, the whole of Languedoc, the most opulent and important province of

France, with the exception of two or three places, was in the Huguenot interest; and after garrisoning the chief towns, it could send into the field 6000 arquebusiers. In Provence, the Huguenot churches had greatly increased since the peace: extending themselves even at Ailes and Aix, which were archiepiscopal cities, and seats also of parliaments; and gaining so firm an establishment at Marseilles, that more than 200 respectable Huguenot families were counted in that port, which four years previously did not entertain one soul professing the Reformed faith. Dauphiné had suffered greatly in the last war, nevertheless, it had so far recovered that its contingent would give 4000 arquebusiers, and a gallant band of 400 veteran Huguenot gentlemen, who had been mounted and in the field from the very commencement of the religious struggles. Taking the whole length of France from Savoy to the Pyrenees, at every three leagues' distance a traveller might lodge and be entertained in some town which either belonged to the patrimony or was under the protection of the King of Navarre. From the district lying between the Garonne and the Dordogne, 4000 arquebusiers might at any time be gathered in four days; not fewer than 6000 more, together with 500 gentlemen, would flock to the banners of the Prince of Condé from Angouleme, Saintonge, Poictou, and Aunis. In the northern provinces, the Huguenots had been more dispersed and less openly organized since the St. Bartholomew. Nevertheless, many faithful partisans were to be found there, secretly banded together; and there was scarcely a corner, however remote, in which some one gentleman did not reside, at whose summons the Huguenots of all classes would gather in case of necessity. Such, it is said in conclusion, were the means of the King of Navarre and of the Reformed churches of France, united for the same *object*, namely, self-preservation; and forming a

body so firm and so compact, that a power far greater than that of the royalists could not effect its ruin without at the same time ruining itself also.*

In the instructions framed by Du Plessis-Mornay for De Segur,† the envoy who was employed to negotiate this projected Protestant counter-league, Queen Elizabeth, as the most powerful and the greatest of those sovereigns who had embraced the truth, was invited to become its chief. It was avowedly to be formed as a guarantee of peace, rather than as a provocative to war. Union, indeed, it was said, was the only means by which the evident designs of the pope and his adherents could be frustrated; and the Protestants, if they would save themselves from extermination, must bear in mind that *dum singuli pugnamus, vincimur*. It was needless to warn England of the irreconcilable hatred which the King of Spain cherished against the Reformed. That prince had been conceived, born, and bred in the Inquisition, "the very Gehenna of the papacy;"‡ and he had hazarded his choicest dominions for the glory of being called the son of the pope and the protector of the Apostolic Church. A marriage between Henry's sister, the Princess Catherine of Navarre, and the King of Scots, was suggested, to consolidate the projected alliance; and, in order to prevent any obstacle which might impede the negotiations, arising out of the difference of opinion

* *Estat du Roy de Navarre et de son Parti en France, envoyé audict Sieur de Walsingham en Mai, 1583. tom. ii. xlix. p. 241-257.*

† De Thou describes Segur as *et præcipuè Aquitanicæ nobilitate hominem, Calvinisticæ Confessionis addictum, et enixè propensum erga Navarrum voluntate præditum. . . . probo et vivaci nec merud to ingenio, sed credulo*. His weak point appears to have been that ordinary stumbling-block of warm fancies, the application of prophecy to the immediate overthrow of papal Rome. Of this folly De Thou proceeds to give some account, lxxix. 7.

‡ "Il est conceu, né, et eslevé en l'Inquisition, qui est la Gehenne de la Papauté." Instruction pour traicter avec la Roynie d'Angleterre et autres princes estrangers Protestans, baillée par le Roy de Navarre au Sieur de Segur, y allant de sa part, en Juillet 1583. tom. ii. lii. p. 272-294.

entertained by the several branches of the Reformed Church relative to the Lord's Supper, it was proposed either to refer those disputes (according to the example of the ancient Church) to a general synod; or, what perhaps afforded a surer hope of mutual amity, to forbid all controversy concerning them, either in speech or in writing.

Similar offers, with the necessary variations, were made to the Reformed in the Netherlands, to the King of Denmark, and to the Protestant states of the empire; and with the last-named, who were more subtly skilled in divinity than the others, a fuller discussion was opened upon the causes of disunion. There could be no doubt, it was said, that the great fundamental doctrine of the free remission of sins by the death of the eternal Son of God, the true and only Mediator, to all who believe in Him, was embraced alike by every denomination of the Reformed; that all combated by like arguments the abuses of Rome; and that even on the single disputed point, the Lord's Supper, all agreed as to the *substance* of the sacrament, which was the body of Christ. The sole difference was as to the *manner* of its presence—*de modo præsentiæ*: and lamentable indeed was it that *in quærendo modo, nullum planè modum adhibeamus, omnem excedamus*. Herein, a lesson of wisdom, it was said, might be drawn from the Romanists themselves, who before the days of Luther had countless mortal quarrels on this very point; and were split into ten or twelve different sects by the schoolmen, as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Durand, Gabriel Biel, Bonaventura, and Picus Mirandula; all of whom were ready to cut one another's throats. Nevertheless, in order that they might have more repose and leisure for persecution of the Reformed faith,* they had of late contrived to lull their disputations to sleep;

* *Pour nous persécuter avec plus de repos et de loisir.—Ibid. p. 390.*

an example by which the Reformed, alas! had failed to profit, although their course was far easier, and their object was much more important; being not less than their deliverance from evident ruin.

The mission of Segur failed in its object. Elizabeth, indeed, was sufficiently alive to the evil designs of Spain; and after much coquetry, and a long struggle between feminine weakness and queenly duty, she had finally rejected the ten years' suit which Anjou had at length briskly urged in person.* Still, however, she was unprepared to link herself with the Reformed of France by any declared positive alliance. In Germany, also, little encouragement was given by the Lutheran divines;† and the Romanists in that country manifested a fierce and not an unwarrantable jealousy of the King of Navarre's designs.‡ The emperor at one time issued orders for the arrest of the ambassadors; and the *conflagration* which the Calvinists were endeavouring to kindle, the *incendium Calvinisticum*, as it was termed, was denounced in a pamphlet replete with slanderous and menacing crimination, which issued from the press at Ingoldstadt.§

Two documents, relating to the same year in which this negotiation commenced, bear testimony

* Among the Burleigh MSS. is preserved an astrological calculation respecting the queen's marriage, written in Secretary Cecil's own hand. It determines that she is to be married about the close of her 31st year: her husband is to be a bachelor and a foreigner, whom she will survive. The marriage is to be happy, and productive of one son of great promise, and one daughter. The original document, in Latin, is printed by Strype.—*Elizabeth*, vol. ii. *Appendix to Book i.* No. 4.

† De Thou speaks of some third and more secret instructions to Segur, by which he was authorized to make very ample concessions on the disputed point of Consubstantiation, and to admit that, since the Apostolic times, no single person had so much benefited the church of God as Martin Luther, whether we regard his life or his writings. lxxix. 7.

‡ Du Plessis was obliged to frame an apology to Henry III. for this mission of Segur. "Instruction de ce que le Sieur de Chassigncourt dira au Roy sur le voyage du Sieur de Segur, pour response au dernier article des Lettres de sa Majesté en date du Novembre, 1583." Tom. ii. lxxvii. p. 308.

§ De Thou, lxxix. 7.

the most ample to the piety, the courage, and the sincerity of Du Plessis-Mornay. He was employed by his master to answer a letter in which the Archbishop of Rouen, afterward Cardinal of Vendôme,* had strongly urged the necessity of conversion; and it may be thought that the following memorable words to which Henry then affixed his signature, must have crossed his remembrance in after years, not without awaking some strong compunction. "As to what you have pressed upon my attention relative to a change of religion, and the inconveniences which may result from the adoption of an opposite course, I think, my cousin, that all those among either the nobility or the people at large, whose good opinion is worth having, and for whose approval I am likely to care, will love me better for showing attachment to some religion, than if I professed none at all; and surely they would have good occasion to believe that I am wholly devoid of religion, if they were to see me changing from one profession to another, solely from worldly motives, the only motives which you have proposed. Tell the persons who lay these suggestions before you, that religion (if they have ever known what it really is) is not to be changed as a man changes his shirt. It is graven on the heart; and, God be thanked! so deeply graven on *mine* that it is as little in my power to lay it aside, as it was to adopt it, since both processes depend upon the grace of God. You whisper that accidents may happen to the king and to the Duke of Anjou. I never allow my imagination to wander so far forward, on matters which I can neither foresee nor control; nor will I ever speculate on my own possible aggrandizement by the death of those to whom I owe both life and service. But if God has so ordained

* Charles, nephew of the Cardinal of Bourbon, after his uncle's death known as *le jeune Cardinal de Bourbon*.

it (which I pray He may not have done), His Providence, whenever it opens the gate, will also smooth the path; for it is by Him that kings reign, and in His hand are the hearts of the people. Trust me, my cousin, the whole tenor of life will instruct you to cast all your cares on the guidance of God, who punishes no sin with greater severity than any abuse of the name of religion.”*

The language held by Du Plessis to Henry III. himself, in an audience which he was instructed to demand in consequence of a bitter insult offered to the Queen of Navarre, evinced an equally firm, devout, and upright spirit with that manifested in the above letter. It is foreign to our purpose to enter into the details of this incident, and it may be enough to state in brief, that after the queen had received an order to withdraw from court, the litter in which she was journeying was rudely stopped, and searched by the royal command; that she herself was compelled to unmask; that certain persons in her suite were carried away as prisoners,† and rigorously examined with the hope of procuring evidence against their mistress. In the explanation which Du Plessis was instructed to demand, his own unyielding manliness contrasted strongly with the shuffling evasion of the king. Henry, in the close, expressed his ardent desire for the maintenance of peace; he spoke of the treaty of 1576 as one which he had disapproved, adding that he had never concealed how ill it had satisfied him; that he had once thought to compel all his subjects to unity in religion by force of arms, but that God had taught him,

1583.
August.

* Tom. ii. xlv. p. 230. Dated March 6, 1583.

† The pretext advanced for this outrage, in the king's letter to Henry, was “de les chasser d'aupres de la Royne de Navarre comme une vermine tres pernicieuse, indigne d'approcher d'ung si grand lieu.” Busbequius recounts a scene between the king and his sister, before she received orders to quit the court, in which the former advances accusations the most unmeasured against her. Ep. xxiii. p. 517.

by experience, how unfitting were such means for such a purpose. For himself, he was firmly attached to his own faith, and would rather die than swerve from it but a single hair's breadth; that he would cheerfully give his right arm to establish uniformity in his kingdom; but that such a consummation must await God's pleasure; meanwhile, he was resolved that those who differed from him should live peaceably under the benefit of his edicts, provided that violence were not commenced on either side.

Du Plessis replied by expressing a hope that God would keep his majesty in this good resolution of leaving conscience unmolested; that there was little fear that war would ever be voluntarily commenced by those upon whom, even if successful, it could not but entail an overwhelming burden of calamity. "To speak for myself, sire," was his animated declaration, "I will not dissemble, that for more than a dozen years past, I have made every effort in my power to become a Catholic, and never yet have been able to succeed. I have often considered with myself, that after the favour of one's God, there is nothing in this life so much to be coveted as that of one's sovereign. I have enough worldliness about me to desire wealth and honour, and quite wit enough to perceive that the religion which I profess is not the path which leads to their attainment. I am not ignorant that your majesty would esteem my services, such as they are, far more agreeable if without the presumption of thinking, that I might have some little power of profiting by them. On that account, I have read every book which I could procure, and I have conferred with every learned man who fell in my way; and in all cases the *flesh* has strongly inclined itself towards their arguments; but, sire, I must acknowledge to your majesty that the *spirit* has prevailed, *notwithstanding it perceived that the rewards of its*

triumph would be no other than losses, dangers, and disgrace. The king remarked that he must have brought prejudice to the discussion: "I did so, sire," answered Du Plessis, "but it was a prejudice which combated against my religion; a desire of advancement, which was ever more ardent in proportion to my youth. Nevertheless, my lively conviction of truth has won the victory in the end."*

To an intellect like that of Du Plessis, matured by long reflection and impregnated with a profound knowledge of all the controverted points of his faith, not only ever ready, but ever fully competent to give a reason of the hope that was within him, how vexatious must have appeared the petty bickerings, the inconsequential discussions, and the officious legislation of the National Synods at which he was sometimes compelled to assist! The XIth of those assemblies held at La Rochelle, ^{1581.} June and July, 1581, prohibited a custom from which, in remote districts, considerable benefit might be derived, the union of the practice of physic with the spiritual functions.† It admonished all persons, under pain of being severely censured if they contemptuously neglected the ordinance, "to bring with them Psalm-books into the churches."‡ It forbade ministers and all other of the faithful from printing or publishing any of their writings or private works, without having first obtained the express leave and approbation of their respective colloquies.§ It lamented the "dancings and other dissolutions which do sprout and increase everywhere;"|| and it directed itself to the regulation of dress in language which our own Stubbes, who was labouring to a similar purpose about the

* *Negociation de M. Du Plessis, vers le Roy Henry III. tom. ii. lxxvii. p. 364, 375.*

† Chapter ii. Art. 5.

§ *Ibid.* Art. 40.

‡ Chapter iii. Art. 40.


|| *Ibid.* Art. 32.

same time, must have very cordially approved.* "This synod declareth, that such habits are not to be allowed in common wearing which carry with them evident markes of lasciviousness, dissoluteness, and excessive new-fangled fashion, such as painting, slashing, cutting in pieces, trimming with locks and tassels, or any other that may discover any nakedness, or unkerchiefed bosoms, or fardingales, or the like sort of garments with which both men and women do wickedly clothe and adorn themselves; and Consistories shall do their utmost to prevent such dissoluteness by their censure; and, in case the delinquents are contumacious and rebellious, they shall proceed against them, even to excommunication."†

At the XIIth National Synod, held at
 1583. Vitré in May, 1583,‡ Du Plessis was present
 May. in the name of the King of Navarre. He listened, perhaps with a smile, to the precision with which the assembled divines again busied themselves in the regulation of female fashions; but it can scarcely be imagined that he anticipated the persecution which their nice and curious ordinances were ere long to bring down upon his own family. "The deputy of Higher Languedoc propounded this case: A godly woman is married to a man of the contrary religion, who will have her wear that apparel which is unbecoming Christian modesty, and in case of noncompliance with her husband's commands, there arise quarrels and great differences between them; may she be tolerated in the usage of those habits? The assembly is of opinion that, to avoid the above-mentioned inconveniences,

* The *Anatomie of Abuses* was published in 1583.

† Chapter iii. Art. 41.

‡ At this assembly it was resolved that a seal should be engraven for the future use of the national synods. The device was a burning bush, bearing in the midst of it , and surrounded with the motto *Flagrorum non consumer.* Chapter ii. Art. 31. Quick's note.

she may be borne withal, excepting on those days when the Lord's Supper is celebrated, or she presents a child to be baptized, in which she shall clothe herself modestly, and so testify her modesty and Christian humility."*

It was in the following year, when the Reformed deputies were assembled at ^{1584.} Montauban for political objects, under the express license of the king,† that Du Plessis was astonished by the exclusion of his wife and daughters from the Lord's Table, because they refused to cut off their hair.‡ It was pleaded in vain that their style of dress was strictly conformable with modesty; that it had been worn by them for fifteen years in Sedan, Geneva, England, the Netherlands, and many of the chief towns of France, without exciting any indignation among their fellow Christians; that to establish a peculiar discipline for Montauban was to revive the arrogant heresy of the Donatists;§ that the pastor, in the objection which he raised, had plainly mistaken one of the decrees of the National Synod; and, indeed, that as to the regulation of dress in general, Calvin had expressly interpreted the passage in St. Paul's epistle to Timothy, upon which interference was commonly founded, as relating more to the reformation of morals than of apparel; denying that the apostle would ever have condescended to trifle on such petty peculiarities; and transferring sumptuary laws altogether from the minister to the magistrate. Not even a solemn

* Chapter ii. Art. 18.

† The objects for which this assembly was summoned are stated in a memoir presented to the king, in order to obtain his permission, dated December 23, 1583. Du Plessis, tom. ii. lxxvi. p. 394. The demands made by the deputies *au Roy*, occupy 60 pages of the same volume.—P. 606, &c.

‡ Several other families encountered equal severities; "pour ne vouloir faire un serment que l'on requeroit d'elles qu'elles ne leurs filles ne porteroient jamais leurs cheveux ou fil d'archéal dedans, estoient publiquement criées à l'Eglise et retranchées de la Cène." *Ibid.* p. 488.

§ "Que penser que Mantauban seule feust Eglise ce seroit revenir à l'erreur des Donatistes." *Ibid.* p. 495.

Confession of Faith, drawn up by Madame Du Plessis, in which she assented, article by article, to the Symbol of the Huguenot Church, availed in behalf of her offending hair. The pastor of Montauban, obdurate and pertinacious to the last, continued to resist; and the ladies, in the end, were compelled to have recourse to another church, a few leagues distant, in which the minister wisely considered the matter indifferent, and admitted them to communion.*

The Duke of Anjou, after a treacherous and un-availing attempt upon Antwerp, had returned from his enterprise in Flanders, baffled, chagrined, and dishonoured.† The seeds of a fatal disease had long been imbedded in his constitution; and to the taint resulting from his vices, rather than to any slow poison administered by the revenge of the Spanish court (as was whispered at the time), may be attributed the premature decay which gradually, but surely, conducted him to the grave.‡

June 10. His death, little as he deserved esteem,

* This curious history is told at great length in a *Fragment* discovered among Du Plessis' papers, tom. ii. lxxxvii. p. 487, 514. Birch, in his *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, states that Mr. Bacon found his residence in Montauban less agreeable than it had used to be, because Mad. Du Plessis sought to entangle him in a marriage with her daughter, and also because "she was extremely incensed against him for taking the part of the principal minister, whom she persecuted for censuring her scandalous excess in her head-attire."—Vol. i. p. 54.

† "Animo jampridem æger et præteritorum penitentiâ mæstus." De Thou, lxxix. 16. Sully, who had an interview with him after his return from Flanders, says that he discovered "au fond de son cœur une mélancolie et une amertume secrète qui le devoit et dont rien ne pouvoit le distraire." Tom. i. lib. ii. p. 127.

‡ *Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau*, liv. lli. c. i. tom. i. p. 701. The Duke of Nevers also speaks to the same purpose. "Après s'être sauvé de cette souveraineté comme d'un embrasement, il revint en France, furieux, mélancolique, et malade. Il n'osa se montrer à la Cour, tant il y étoit peu considéré, et se vit contraint de se cacher dans la solitude de Château Thierry; où nos Mémoires assurent qu'il fut empoisonné par une Dame de ses bonnes amies. Si la chose est vraie, il eut au moins cela de l'ancien Hercule dont il portoit le nom, que le présent d'une femme fut cause de sa mort." Tom. i. p. 91.

No credit deserves to be attached to the rumour that the Duke of Anjou was poisoned. Two months before his death (April 14), Du

either morally or intellectually,* was most important to France. The king, although in the prime of life, was confidently believed to be destitute of any chance of issue, and with him the line of Valois would become extinct. The crown, therefore, on his decease, would pass to the house of Bourbon, as descendants of Robert de Clermont, the youngest son of St. Louis; and the heretic King of Navarre was now its presumptive heir. Even before his brother's death, Henry III. had not scrupled to acknowledge the legitimacy of this claim, and his own approval of it;† but the Guises were little inclined to assent to so peaceful a transfer of the sceptre. Their long cherished hopes of power depended upon the troubling of the waters; and could they but once

Plessis wrote to the king of Navarre, "selon le jugement de tous les Medecins unanimement, son Altesse est phytisque formé, outre l'inconvenient d'une veine ouverte près du foie; et la plupart craignent qu'il ne passera pas deux mois." Tom. ii. p. 575. Busbequius also writes of his great danger on the 29th of May (March?); of the "fabula vulgò orta propinatum venenum;" adding, that a complaint of the lungs is suspected. *Epist.* xxxiii. And again, "rumor est constans eum physis, quæ jam ad hecticam inclinat, laborare." *Epist.* xxxiv. April 10.

* "Quorundam judicium est publico magis bono sublatum quam natum, hominem obnoxium pravis futilium ministrorum consiliis, qui adulatores a veris amicis non discerneret, et qui magnum famam adfectabat, sed quancumque potius quam bonam, facilem suscipiendis actionibus, sed faciliorem deponendis. Ergo omnis vita ejus inconstans, mobilis, inquieta, miscendis perturbandisque bene compositis rebus dedita, portendebatur." Busbequius, *Epist.* xxxviii. De Thou is more lenient. After speaking of the great piety which the duke exhibited during his last illness, he concludes—"Fuit corpore brevi, sed bene compacto, facie fuscâ et paulum tumidâ, et variolis in pueritiâ deformatâ; cæterum vario ingenio præditus, acer, comis, magnanimus, eloquens, magnificus, ambitiosus, inquietus, celer." lxxix. 16. We do not discover any corroboration of the favourable parts of this portrait in the incidents of the Duke of Anjou's life.

† "Ces jours passés aussi sa Majesté, après son dîner, estant devant le feu, M. de Mayenne present et grand nombre de gentilshommes, après ung long discours de la maladie de son Altesse, dict ces mots: 'Aujourd'hui je recognois le Roy de Navarre pour mon seul et unique heritier. C'est ung prince bien né et de bon naturel. Mon naturel a tousjours esté de l'aimer, et je scais qu'il m'aime. Il est ung peu cholere et piquant, mais le fonds en est bon, je m'assure que mes humeurs lui plairont, et que nous nous accommoderons bien ensemble.'" Du Plessis, *Au Roy de Navarre*, April 14, 1584, tom. ii. xciv. p. 575. *Rex Navarrum in Literis expectat titulo quo proximi Regni hæredes honestari solent.* Busbequius, *Epist.* xxxviii. June 18, 1585 (1584).

raise a dispute as to the succession, who should venture to name the channel into which it might ultimately devolve? The Cardinal of Bourbon, a paternal uncle of Henry of Navarre, was persuaded to assert a claim; and although he represented a junior branch of his family, the Catholics readily permitted that defect of right* to be atoned by his community of religion. The king was in his thirty-third year; the cardinal had already passed his sixtieth; yet the weak old man meditated a dispensation from his vows of celibacy, in order that he might become the father of a royal line; affected a secular garb; and assumed the title of first prince of the blood and heir-presumptive to the crown.†

The connivance of the queen-mother to this elevation of the cardinal had been purchased by representing to her that he was but a puppet who, after having been used a little while, might easily be put aside;‡ so that, in spite of the Salic law, the inheritance of the kingdom would eventually pass to her own grandchildren, the issue of Claude of France by the Duke of Lorraine. Important aid was prom-

* Perefex represents the legal question as not altogether without difficulty; but he at the same time admits, that according to the *Costume de Paris*, and many other *Costumes* also, collateral representation was in nowise admissible, p. 63. The doubt gave rise to many controversial tracts. The king having one day tricked the cardinal into an admission that he intended to assert his right, briskly told him, "Mon bon ami, le Châtelet vous le donneroit, mais la Cour vous l'ôteroit." *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 429; implying that the parliament, acting on enlarged principles, would annul any decree which inferior courts might pass in his favour.

† "Quinimò nuper dictitatum fuit eum, Sacris et Cardinalatu repeditis, ducturum uxorem Montpenserii viduam, Ducis Guisai sororem, manetque etiamnum ea fama." Busbequius, *Ep.* xlii. Oct. 14, 1584. "Cardinalis Borbonius Regni successoris nomen affectat, fertque indignè sibi præferri fratris filium, certiorumque heredem judicari. Adeoque astidito Cardinalitio habitu sibi placet in sagis, ut quibusdam delirare videatur." *Id.* *Ep.* xlix. April 25, 1585.

‡ De Thou, lxxx. 18. lxxxi. 5. Perefex says that Guise was thought to have committed a political blunder in setting up the Cardinal of Bourbon; for it was a tacit admission that after that prelate's death, which could not be long protracted, the crown belonged to his nephew; "mais il falloit peut estre son compte qu'il auroit opprimé avant qu'il en pût venir *id.*"—P. 64.

ised by the Spanish court also, whose chief hope of diverting the attention of France from the Netherlands was founded on the possibility of rekindling her civil wars.* For that purpose, Philip, careless which part he espoused provided discord were the result, had offered large subsidies, three years before, to the King of Navarre, without any stipulation as to religion. If, in addition to drawing the sword, Henry would also change his creed, Philip promised that the bond should be cemented by a double matrimonial alliance; for in the many similar negotiations in which the King of Navarre was involved from time to time, the infidelity of Margaret appears to have been a point altogether assumed. When Henry promptly declined this treaty, and answered on the question of religion, that, however inferior he might be to his Catholic majesty in power, he was fully his equal in honour and in conscience, the Spanish diplomatist replied that he did not know what he was doing, and that they had other chapmen ready for their bargain.†

Nothing was omitted by Guise which could tend to inflame popular feeling against the Huguenots; the pen of every ready writer, and the tongue of every fluent preacher, was bribed or cajoled, as avarice or zeal predominated, to assist in the labour of hatred; and in this odious task the Jesuits were more especially distinguished.‡ The rigorous punishments which had been exacted from the seminary priests in England, whose plot had so long and so frequently endangered the life of Elizabeth, afforded a seasonable theme to declaimers. Not only were the terrors of the "Anglican Persecution" yelled out even to hoarseness from the pulpits of the capital;

* "Nam hujus (Regis Catholici) quidem Provinciarum quies et captorum quos sperat eventus non aliunde pendet quam a motibus et perturbatione istius Regni." Busbequius, *Ep.* xlviii. March 26, 1585.

† *Mém. de Du Plessis-Mornay*, tom. i. p. 141.

‡ De Thou, lxxxi. 6.

but, when the ears of the rabble were thought to be satiated, excitement was offered to their eyes also. Engravings of the various martyrdoms, as they were termed, depicting to the life each fearful process of the inhuman penalty which the English law then adjudged to treason, were publicly exhibited; and hired agents, mingling among the spectators, explained the horrible details, and whispered that the fate of France would be similar if Navarre should ever ascend the throne. The police seized the original plates in the residence of the Duke of Guise; but the evil was but aggravated by this interference. A similar picture, designed on a gigantic scale and rendered attractive by glowing colours, was affixed to the porch of the burial-ground of St. Severine. "I myself saw it remaining there long afterward," says De Thou, "and it was not without great difficulty that the English ambassador at length prevailed upon the king to insist that the seditious officers who superintended the church should remove it from its position."*

The king, perhaps, in his heart, felt an equal dislike to each of the great conflicting parties; yet, however strong might be his prejudices against the Reformed, he had received undoubted proofs of their fidelity to his person in a transaction which must at the same time have convinced him of the treasonable designs of the League. The King of Navarre had obtained information of a project, meditated by the Duke of Savoy in conjunction with the leaguers, for the seizure of Dauphiné and Provence; and he at once communicated the important secret to the French court. Henry dissembled his knowledge, and lavished more than ordinary caresses on Guise and his friends; but either consciousness of their

* *Id. ibid. Journal de Henri III. tom. i. p. 16.* The *Politiques* called the Picture *Le Tableau de Madame de Montpensier*, attributing its invention to that most stirring and ambitious woman, who fully shared the spirit of her brother. The removal did not take place till Henry IV. entered Paris in March 1594. *Journal de Henri IV. tom. ii. p. 10.*

own guilt, or experience of the duplicity of their master, impressed them with a full conviction that, under all this semblance of royal favour, they were objects of mortal hatred.* Any doubt which they might feel concerning their detection must have been removed by a remarkable conversation, the tenor of which forcibly reminds us of some of those apologues under which oriental princes are represented as shadowing out their thoughts. "After dinner to-day," said the king, addressing himself to the Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Nevers, two of the staunchest leaguers, "I gave audience to the ambassador of Venice, a government to which I feel greatly indebted for its magnificent entertainment on my return from Poland. The envoy asked my advice respecting a conspiracy which had been detected involving some of the most powerful senators. The evidence against them is incontestable, but the signory is doubtful in what manner to proceed. Now, my lords, give me your opinions." The two noblemen replied that it was an affair which demanded great prudence and an avoidance of all precipitation; that distinct proofs of guilt must be obtained in the first instance; and that, even then, it should be well weighed whether more good or evil were likely to result from further prosecution. The king urged them to be more explicit, and the Duke of Nevers, whose suspicion was excited by his manner, had no sooner quitted the royal closet than he repaired to the Venetian ambassador, and ascertained that the story with which the king had been amusing them was altogether fictitious.†

* *Lettre de M. Du Plessis au Roy de Navarre*, Feb. 20, 1584. Tom. ii. xci. p. 522. The king, he says, after the audience in which he was informed of this treason, bestowed "à MM. de Guise plus de caresses beaucoup que du coustume: lesquels toutesfois disent privement à leurs amis qu'ils connoissent bien une haine mortelle du Roy contre eux." —P. 532.

† *Lettre de M. Du Plessis au Roy de Navarre*. March 9, 1584. Tom. ii. xch. p. 545.

Influenced, perhaps, by these and similar recollections, Henry, before he openly espoused either party, endeavoured to persuade the King of Navarre to change his creed. The Duke D'Epemon was despatched on an especial mission for this purpose; if it succeeded, all difficulty, it was thought, would be removed as to the succession; numerous Catholics who had embraced the league, solely prompted by the apprehension of a heretic dynasty, would at once return to their duty; and the faction, thus weakened, might be easily suppressed. But the offer was rejected after the question had been solemnly argued by disputants of each religion.*

The first manifesto of the leaguers was
 1585.
 March 31. issued from Peronne, in the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon. It was directed quite as much, perhaps indeed more, against the king than against the Huguenots; it embraced a review of the numerous grievances of his reign, for the redress of which all good Catholics now thought it incumbent upon them to take arms; and it concluded with an adulatory notice of Catherine, without whose wisdom and prudence the kingdom would long since have been utterly torn in pieces.†

April. This rebellious instrument, feebly and timidly answered by the king,‡ produced a

* De Thou, lxxx. 1. "Ea Dissertatio statim a Philippo Mornæo Plessio, viro raris ingenii dotibus prædito, literis elegantissimè mandata et ambitiōse inter Protestantēs publicata." We have not met with this tract by Du Plessis.

† This manifesto is printed in the *Mém. de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 641, and in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. i. p. 56. An amusing mistake arising out of its issue, is noticed by Du Plessis, *Reponse au Catholique Anglois*, tom. iii. lxxxiii. p. 344. Duke Casimir despatched a remonstrance against it to Henry III., by the hands of Wier, one of his most trusty counsellors, who had been his agent in the English court in 1569. (Strype, *Elizabeth*. Vol. iii. b. i. c. 8.) Louis d'Orleans, the author of a tract in favour of the league, written under the assumed character of an English Catholic refugee, deceived by the name, gravely accused Duke Casimir of employing as a diplomatist *un Protecteur des Sorciers*. The better known Wier, to whom, as author of the work *de Præstigiis Daemonum*, this title might be applied, was physician to the Duke of Cleves.

‡ *Mém. de Nevers*, tom. i. p. 28. *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. i. p. 63.

widely different reply from the court of Bergerac. A noble *Declaration against the calumnies of the League*, framed by Du Plessis,* con- June 10. tained, among many similar passages, one which must have covered the intolerant Romanists with peculiar shame. "The King of Navarre," it said, "has been termed the sworn enemy of the Catholics; but the said king, who wishes to open his heart to all the world, has no reluctance to display his thoughts as well as his deeds. He declares, therefore, that he knows and believes, and has always known and believed, that *provided there be the foundation of a sound conscience*, diversity in religious belief is no hinderance to a good prince in deriving loyal service indifferently from all his subjects; it being plain that both religions equally recommend, according to the word of God, the duty of the subject to the sovereign, and of the inferior to the superior." In conclusion, Henry waved the privilege of his rank, and humbly solicited the king, in order to prevent the effusion of innocent blood, to permit the general quarrel to be decided personally between himself and the Duke of Guise, either in single combat, or accompanied by as many retainers on each side as his majesty might be pleased to appoint. Before Du Plessis penned this chivalrous cartel, he stipulated that in case of its acceptance, whatever might be the number of seconds, himself should be one; an honour which his royal master accorded with entire willingness.† The challenge was no empty bravado; nor was it one which the temper of Guise was likely to decline, if policy would have allowed its acceptance. He replied in general terms, that he owed respect to all the princes of the blood, and that he personally esteemed the King of Navarre; adding, that his sole object was the safety of the Catholic Church which was

* Tom. iii. xxix. p. 89.

† Tom. i. p. 155.

endangered, and the repose of the state which depended altogether upon uniformity in religion.*

The firm conviction expressed by Du Plessis of the justice, and therefore of the ultimate success of the approaching war, attests his zeal, his sincerity, and his reliance on the equity of Providence; his anticipations of its political results are evidences of the most unrivalled sagacity. "You may thank God, sire," he observed to Henry, on receiving intelligence of the outbreak of hostilities, "that your enemies commenced the war; for come it must, some day or other; and better is it that it should do so under the present reign, than under yours which will succeed; better can you support it now, while you are still young, than hereafter when you have become old. For us, if we are compelled to labour, we shall at least bequeath tranquillity to our children. The name of God is abused, and He will avenge His own cause. You will in truth encounter grievous troubles, but they will work together for your good; and never will any prince have emerged with greater glory from any war, than I feel confident you will do from the present, if you do but persist in fearing God."†

Weak, vacillating, and irresolute, the king still hesitated in his decision, and neglected preparation, even when Guise was already in the field. The army of the league at first did not exceed 5,000 men, and might have been dispersed with little difficulty; but Henry shrank from action, and deputed the queen-mother to negotiate. In a conference held first at Epernai, and subsequently transferred to Nemours, she assented, partly from necessity, partly from regard to her own private views, to the promulgation of an edict, which amounted to an entire proscription of the Huguenots. Its provisions in the outset were declared

* *Prefixe*, p. 71.

† *Mém. de Du Plessis-Mornay*, tom. i. p. 153.

perpetual and irrevocable. All profession of the pretended Reformed creed was forbidden, and the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish faith was pronounced to be henceforward the sole religion of the state. Confiscation and death were to be the penalties of any Huguenot minister who should be found within the French dominions after the lapse of one month, and of any layman who should extend his residence to longer than six. The Reformed were declared incapable of holding office or dignity; the *Chambres-my-parties* were abolished; the immediate surrender of the cautionary towns was demanded; amnesty was granted for all acts of violence which might have been committed by the leaguers, in their zeal for the maintenance of religion; and every person holding a public employment was required to subscribe an oath of inviolable fidelity to these ordinances.* So rigidly were the provisions of this edict observed in the expulsion of the Huguenots, that the king rejected a petition submitted to him by some defenceless women and female children. The only indulgence which they solicited was permission to live within the confines of France, without molestation, in any obscure and sequestered retirement which his majesty might assign. Henry denied the request, but pledged his royal word that the petitioners should be safely transported to England.†

The league had hitherto failed in its application to the Vatican for open support; and after the accession of Sixtus V.,‡ the Duke of Nevers, ill satisfied at the reserve of the Holy Father, had under-

* *Édit du roy sur la réunion de ses sujets à l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine. M m. de la Ligue.* tom. i. p. 178. When we call to mind the ferocious provisions of this edict, the title given to it in the Latin translation (*De posremis motibus*, p. 177) may be thought somewhat wide of its contents. "De conciliatione subditorum suorum ad gremium Ecclesiæ." &c.

† Busbequius, *Ep.* lili. Dec. 6, 1585.

‡ April 24, 1585.

taken a journey to Rome, in order to ascertain his sentiments. To his surprise, he drew from the lips of that acute and wary pontiff an unequivocal condemnation of the factious union. "Firm as your king may be in his attachment to the church," were the words of Sixtus, "he will be compelled in the end to call the heretics to his aid, in order to obtain deliverance from the tyranny of the Catholics." On the publication of the edict of Nemours he expressed himself yet more strongly; he denounced the league as the most pernicious confederacy ever formed against either religion or government: he prophesied the dishonourable accommodation into which he foresaw Henry must enter with Navarre and Condé; and the deluge of heresy which would consequently overwhelm France, who, like another Jerusalem, he said, would become the prey of strangers, and be destroyed by the very hands which ought to be raised for her protection. The duke, convinced by these arguments, persevered in the intention which he had before entertained of withdrawing from the association.†

Yet, although the sagacity of Sixtus V. and the profound knowledge of human nature which marked his whole life enabled him thus clearly to foretell the results of the league, he was betrayed by ungovernable pride into an idle assumption of power, which recent history might have taught him would avail nothing to his friends, and which might irritate but could not injure the party whose overthrow he designed. Far too prudent to offer either men or money to the Guises, he yielded to importunity, and opened his spiritual armoury in their service. A

* See the account of the conduct of the Duke of Nevers in the *Avertissement* prefixed to his letters from Italy to the Cardinal of Bourbon, in 1585. *Mémoires*. tom. i. p. 661, and the letters themselves. The character which the pope sketched of the Cardinal of Bourbon, in the VIth letter, is a remarkable evidence of his sagacity, and the *frankness* with which Nevers communicated it to the vain old gentleman whom it represented is not a little amusing.

bull, not surpassed in violence by any similar bolts of vengeance which had been hurled by his predecessors through the thickest darkness of more ignorant and bigoted times, was directed against the *nominal* King of Navarre and the *pretended* Prince of Condé.*

After a wordy preamble, asserting that a deposing right was inherent in the papacy, it proceeded to denounce the *once* king and *former* prince† as obstinate and relapsed heretics; who had returned to wallow in the mire, from which they had been happily extricated.‡ Looking, therefore, to “these detestable and degenerate scions of the illustrious House of Bourbon,”§ Sixtus pronounced them “from the loftiness of his throne and by the plenitude of that power which the King of kings and Lord of lords had bestowed upon him, however unworthily,” by “the authority of the omnipotent God, of the blessed Apostles, St. Peter, St. Paul, and of himself”|| to be relapsed and impenitent heretics; manifest, public, and notorious leaders, fosterers, and champions of schism; and, therefore, guilty of treason against the Divine majesty, and enemies of the orthodox Christian faith. Then followed a sentence of deprivation, by which all their territories and possessions were declared to be forfeited, and both themselves and their posterity were for ever rendered utterly incapable of inheritance; all their vassals were released from allegiance, and exposed to the pains of this excommunication unless they formally renounced their fidelity. In conclu-

* “Contra assertum Regem Navarrae et prætensum Principem Condæum.”

† “Quondam Regem olim Principem.”

‡ “In eo quo prius erat cæno revolutus.”

§ “Hanc prolem detestabilem ac degenerem inclytæ Borboniorum familiæ.”

|| “Itaque in præcelso hoc solio, et in plenitudine potestatis quam ipse Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium, licet nobis indignis, tribuit, constituti auctoritate Dei Omnipotentis, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, et nostrâ,” &c.

sion, the King of France was solemnly admonished to assist in the execution of this bull, even as he revered the oath which he had pledged at his coronation that he would do his utmost to extirpate heresy.*

The first counter-step of the Bourbon princes was more distinguished by boldness than by good taste. A "Reclamation" was posted by their agents in the four customary public places at Rome, in reply "to the futile excommunication of Sixtus V., who usurps the name of pope."† Downright abuse is little capable of transfusion from one language to another, without some loss of pungency: and we despair, therefore, of finding exact equivalents for the terms which represent the papal instrument to be fantastical, impious, unjust, and false. "As to the imputed crime of heresy, of which the said princes are untruly and unjustly accused by the said Sixtus, who arrogates to himself the title of pope, they reply (with all respect to his holiness) that he lies falsely, wickedly, and maliciously;" and they then undertook to prove, before a general council, that he himself was the greatest of all heretics. If the pope should refuse to appear before that council, and to submit to its judgment, they denounced him as a rebel against his own canons, as a rash and turbulent tyrant, as no other than Antichrist; and they vowed to pursue both him and his successors, under that name, with interminable war, as was required by their own injured dignity and by the affront which he had offered to the whole royal blood of France. They concluded with an appeal to all princes and states (whose in-

* The original bull is printed in the Tract *De postremis motibus*, p. 245, with a very amusing *Censura* not less virulent than itself, attached to each paragraph by the zealous Protestant editor.

† We are by no means sure whether this document was originally written in French or in Latin. It occurs in the former language in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. i. p. 243; in the Latin in the Tract *De postremis motibus*, p. 305.

terest was not less concerned than their own) to assist them in repressing the tyranny and usurpation of this pope, and of those who had leagued with him in France and elsewhere.

Far more dignified and temperate than this first hasty ebullition of anger, was the sober letter framed by Du Plessis in his master's name to the Sorbonne, expressing willingness to submit to the decision of a general, or even of a national council.* The same proposition was repeated in a new draught of association signed at Bergerac in November,† not only by the Reformed, but by many Catholics who now adhered to the King of Navarre.‡ But any attempt to follow with minuteness the transactions either of the cabinet or of the field during this *War of the three Henries*,§ as it is named, would needlessly distract the reader; and we must hasten onward to results. Navarre was able to maintain himself during the winter 1586.

and spring without exposure to any serious attack; and his own strength was so equally balanced with that arrayed against him, that the operations languished from mutual apprehension.|| Condé was less fortunate; and, after encountering more than one severe check, he crossed the Channel, in order to renew solicitations which he had before urged on

* Tom. iii. xlvii. p. 208. A letter addressed about this time to Henry III. by Du Plessis, in his own name, urging him to call a national council, is in part so inflated as to create a suspicion that the writer purposely accommodated his style to the meretricious taste of the person whom he was soliciting. Towards the close occurs the following remarkable specimen of bathos: "Your majesty will pardon my boldness. In great necessities, great men do not disregard even the most trifling suggestions. The bark of a single dog has saved many a house from pillage; the cackle of one bird was the salvation of the capitol." *Ibid.* xlvii. p. 207.

† *Ibid.* p. 215.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 231.

§ The king, Navarre, and Guise.

|| *Nostre estat est tel. la proportion si balancée de celui qui assaut à celui qui defend, que l'un ne peult pas ruiner l'autre, sans se ruiner soi mesmes.* Letter from Du Plessis to the ambassador in the Grisons, Feb. 4, 1586. *Ibid.* p. 203.

Queen Elizabeth.* His suit, backed by a *spo* voy from Henry, was favourably received. It indeed well knew the tone in which the English might be most successfully addressed. The letter in his own handwriting, framed at the commencement of the war which we are narrating, is tinctured with a spirit of gallantry which must have been eminently agreeable to the taste of the queen. "I have need of my friends," said the adroit diplomatist; "my all is at stake, and no time to lose. But I rely with confidence on your majesty's aid, and in that hope I feel my courage redoubled. I call to remembrance the aid you have given me in combating in your behalf; and inspired by your favour, all things appear to me not only possible, but easy."† Later despatches express the gratitude for the success of his application;‡ and a draft of the answer is still remaining, penned by Burleigh, in the autumn of the summer of 1586, in which, after stating the condition of Navarre's "condition is very low," and throwing out some fear of his being tempted to abandon his service, shows that 100,000 crowns may be placed at his disposal; that if he is compelled to leave France, La Rochelle he shall receive the protection of the English fleet, and that he shall find an honourable asylum on the shores of Britain till he can exercise his rights.§

* Among the Cottonian MSS. (Titus, B. 2) is a letter from Burleigh to the Earl of Sussex, giving an account of a long and valuable audience granted to Condé by Elizabeth in 1580.

† *Lettre du Roy de Navarre a la Royne d'Angleterre, es mains.* *Correspondance de Du Plessis*, tom. iii. xvi. p. 26.

‡ *Lettre du Roy de Navarre a la Royne d'Angleterre.* *Ibid.* 326. *Lettre du M. Du Plessis à M. de Walsingham*, Feb. *Ibid.* lxxviii. p. 327.

§ *Consultation for Navarre*, June 20, 1586, printed by Strachey, vol. iii. book ii. ch. iii. Burleigh had received frequent offers from Henry, and with his characteristic wariness had forborne answering any of them. At length, in 1584, he writes in the very strong language: after professing himself his majesty's devoted servitor," he adds, "not so much for your kingdom, as for your honour greatly, but for your magnanimity and clemency to it."

The subsidies thus afforded by England, and the great personal exertions of Beza, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, undertook a pilgrimage, as it were, from Geneva to the Protestant German princes, succeeded in awakening among those powers a strong feeling in behalf of the Huguenots. A solemn conference was held in the presence of Frederic, count of Wirtemberg, at Montbelliard, between the leading champions of the Lutheran and of the Calvinistic churches; and Beza and James Andreas of Tubingen measured their controversial weapons in a very futile combat.* The questions which they agitated concerned the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, baptism, predestination, images, and organs; and contrary to the wish of Beza, who preferred the syllogistic form of argument, his adversary succeeded in obtaining permission to declaim. Although it is said that unusual gentleness was observed by the disputants themselves,† the conference terminated by a direct breach of promise on the part of the Germans. It had been mutually agreed, for the sake of peace, that no publication of the *acts* should be allowed; yet no sooner had the verbal battle subsided, than the press teemed with claims of victory asserted by the Lutherans; and Beza, in self-defence, resorted to the same weapon.‡ Little as might be the gain to religion by this conflict, its results were advantageous to the Huguenots; for the Germans were aroused by Beza's energy, and, having satisfied

nance of the true religion of Christ, wherein I pray God to assist you with His grace, to the confusion of Antichrist and of his members." —*Id. ibid.* book i. ch. xviii.

* *Etsi autem facile erat cuivis perspicere nihil ex ejusmodi collatione fructus expectandum, quum neutra pars a sua sententiâ dimoveri vellet, et alteram in suam pertrahere non posset.* Fayus YIIOMNHMATION Beza, p. 53.

† *Placidè discessum est sine bile et amarulentia, sed nullo fructu, ut ferè in talibus palæstris publicis contingere solet.*

‡ *Response de M. Th. de Beza aux Actes de la Conference de Montbelliard imprimées a Tubingue.* Geneve, 1587. See also De Thou, lxxxv. 19.

their scruples of breaking through peace by a liminary embassy to the King of France (which at first avoided, and afterward received with hutiness), they despatched a very large auxiliary to strengthen the Reformed.*

Neither the menace of this foreign invasion on one hand, nor the unprincely servitude to which was reduced by the leaguers on the other, rouse Henry from his disgraceful apathy. Much summer was passed at Lyons, where he passionately devoted himself to the increase of his kennel, by selections from a celebrated breed of that city produces. Amid the general distress of his kingdom and the bankruptcy of his private treasury, he expended more than 100,000 crowns: wholly on this unworthy establishment; and a train of male and female attendants, connected its duties and hired at extravagant wages, everywhere accompanied the progress of the court. Dogs and parrots were among his other favourite companions, and so fickle was he in his choice, they required perpetual change in these animals, causing of the sums lavished for its attainment. "I shall I forget the strange attitude, and the stranger dress, in which I found this prince," says Sully, who had obeyed his summons at an important moment, when for a short time he seemed willing to disembarass himself from the league by a treaty with the Huguenots. "He had a sword by his side, a hood on his shoulders, a little bonnet on his head, a basket full of very small dogs hanging from his neck by a riband; and he kept himself so still

* 10,000 Reistres, 10,000 Swiss, and 6000 Lansquenets, who were joined on the frontiers by 4000 French arquebusiers, and a troop of pikes. *Instruction pour M. Constans, allant vers M. de Montmorcay*. *Du Plessis' Correspondance*, tom. iii. lxxxix. p. 329. But the numbers are variously stated in other places: and it is a frequent subject of complaint that not more than half the stipulated Reistres ever came to France. *Instruction au Sieur du Fay*, tom. iv. p. 127. *Lettre du Plessis à M. de Morlas*, *Ibid.* p. 134. *du même à M. de la Mar* *Ibid.* p. 164.

while he was speaking, head, hands, and feet were equally motionless.* One other childish taste in which he indulged was an inordinate fancy for collecting illuminations from missals. Little regarding the injury which the costly manuscripts for which they were originally designed might suffer by their abstraction, he cut out those miniatures, wherever they could be discovered, in order to paste them on the walls of his private oratories.†

These frivolities, and the inconclusive conduct of the war, notwithstanding considerable armies were in the field, awakened a natural suspicion among the Leaguers that the king was acting with duplicity, and secretly encouraging the Reformed. Strong resolutions declaratory of that belief were passed in a meeting held at Orcamp; and it was determined that, for the future, Guise should act according to his own discretion, without awaiting the royal commands. There can be little doubt that Henry at all times would most gladly have extricated himself from the Leaguers by the union which they suspected; and his chief, and certainly not unreasonable hope, still arose from the probable conversion of Navarre. The skill of Catherine, it was thought, might effect this most desirable change;‡ but some conferences which were held for the purpose, at St. Bris near Cognac, produced December. little but angry recrimination and brisk repartees. "There is nothing, madam," said the King of Na-

* *Mémoires*, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 162. Queen Elizabeth in 1582 sent Henry III. a present of English dogs, "and other singularities;" for which, in return, he "commanded to be made an exceeding marvellous princely coach, and to be provided four of the fairest moiles which are to be had for to carry your highness's litter."—*Despatch from the English Ambassador at Paris*, cited by Strype, *Elizabeth*, vol. iii. book i. ch. 8.

† De Thou, lxxv. 19.

‡ "Quant a moi j'ai toujours crû que, si elle y faillloit, une autre ne pouvoit l'entreprendre après elle," says the writer of a letter printed among the *Preuves du Journal de Henri III.* tom. iii. p. 295, which, although written under an assumed character (for internal evidence may be adduced that it is from the pen of a Huguenot), probably contains the genuine report of some one present at these conferences.

varre, "of which I can accuse myself, unless it be too rigid an adherence to my word. Neither do I charge your majesty with any designed breach of faith; but, perhaps, considering your time of life, you rely too much upon your memory, and forget therefore too easily the promises which you have pledged."* "What is it, after all, that you require?" asked the queen, in a tone of impatience, when her opening propositions were rejected. Henry, in reply, threw a careless glance upon the handsome women whom she had selected to assist in her negotiation, and answered, "Nothing, madam, that I see before me."† When the Duke of Nevers ventured to suggest that Henry's station, if he were reconciled to the king, would be far more honourable and more independent than that which he now occupied among the refractory and parsimonious Rochellois, with whom he had not credit to raise a loan of half a dozen livres in his utmost necessity, Henry interrupted him by a sarcastic reference to his Lombard origin: "We do not need any loans, monsieur, for we have no Italian in our party;" and he then added, with greater dignity, "at La Rochelle I can do every thing that I wish, because I wish for nothing which is not my due."‡ Sully, who had more than common opportunities of ascertaining the real intentions of the queen, expresses a conviction that her sole object was to deprive Henry of the confidence of the Huguenots, and to lead him to counter-

* *Id.* p. 301. These were the parting words at the second conference, and "on commenca à esperer quelque douceur de la troisieme des reproches s'étoit ecoulée aux deux premieres."

† *Prefixe*, p. 79. *Matthieu*, tom. i. liv. viii. p. 518. The latter historian, who is somewhat less decorous in his narration of the anecdote than is the Archbishop of Paris, adds, "Cet equivoque fut incontinent remarqué par les Dames pour un trait de la galanterie de ce Prince, qui en tout temps et en toute sorte de discours faisoit voir la vivacité de ses reparties."

‡ *D'Aubigné, Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. i. c. 6. *Prefixe*, p. 79. It is only from the former that we derive Henry's opening sarcasm; *Nous n'entendons rien aux impositions, car il n'y a pas un Italien parmi nous.*

mand the advance of his Germans. After stating the sources from which he derived this intelligence, he adds, "I believe the information which I received to be true, notwithstanding in that court lying, next to licentiousness, was the principal study."*

The royal forces in the ensuing campaign were divided into three bodies; one headed by the Duke of Guise was opposed to the Germans on the frontier; a second, far better appointed, was entrusted to the Duke de Joyeuse, to confront the Bourbon princes in Poitou; and the third, under the king himself, formed an army of observation to act according to the demand of circumstances. A crafty policy has been discovered in these arrangements; Joyeuse, it is said, was instructed not to attack, and his great superiority over the enemy whom it was not intended that he should do more than check, would, it was thought, effectually prevent any but defensive tactics on their side. Inferior troops, on the other hand, were purposely committed to the Duke of Guise, in the hope that he might be destroyed by the Germans; and that the king, thus emancipated, might recover all his lost authority. If such were indeed the refined scheme which Henry framed, never was a crafty hope more egregiously frustrated.

Anne de Joyeuse, eldest son of the Viscount d'Arques, possessed many great and generous qualities; his birth was illustrious, his temper liberal; his valour thoroughly approved;† and the chief drawback upon his good fame is found in that bad eminence of favouritism to which he had been exalted by the caprice of Henry. Yet higher honours than

* *Mém.* tom. i. liv. ii. p. 178.

† De Thou speaks somewhat slightly of the military qualifications of Joyeuse, whom he calls *pænetiro*. (lxxxvii. 6. *Var. Lect. a.*) Nevertheless, in 1580, at the siege of La Fère, he had evinced great personal courage. On one occasion, during a sortie, he was desperately wounded, losing seven teeth and a part of his jaw. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 306.

those of a dukedom and a peerage awaited his acceptance, after he had once pleased the humour of his prodigal master; he was affianced to Louise de Vaudemont, a sister of the queen; the nuptials were celebrated with unprecedented magnificence; the dower assigned to the bride was that of a daughter of France, 300,000 crowns; and the expenditure of the seventeen days of revelling, during which the marriage festivities were prolonged, was estimated at not less than four times that extravagant amount.* That a courtier thus distinguished by royal favour, and ambitious of reputation in the field, should be invested with the chief military command, appears scarcely beyond the ordinary course of fortune. Nevertheless, the appointment of Joyeuse has been reputed a court intrigue, arising out of the increasing influence of a rival favourite, the Duke d'Epernon. Both Pasquier and Sully† have wearied themselves with conjectures as to the real motive by which this nomination was prompted: yet it is scarcely possible to doubt the conclusion to which the latter inclines, that it was an especial mark of the king's esteem, when we are assured that the army was composed of the best troops in France, that its ranks were thronged with chosen nobility, and provided with every appliance by which victory could be secured.

The King of Navarre, on receiving advice that the Germans were in motion, endeavoured to secure quarters which might favour his junction with them on their advance. Pressed by the greatly superior army of Joyeuse, he occupied by a forced march the town of Coutras, at the confluence of the Doune with the l'Isle, designing to interpose the

* One of the spectacles exhibited on this occasion was a drama on the story of Circe (*la Tragedie de Circe*), which, when composed by D'Aubigné some time before, had been laid aside on account of its great expense. *Hist. Secrete du Sieur d'Aubigné*, xxx. prefixed to his *Adventures de Baron de Fœnesto*.

† *Lettres*, tom. i. liv. xi. p. 710. *Mém. ut sup.*

former river between himself and his enemy. In this object he anticipated Joyeuse but by a single hour; and, even after it was attained, the royalists had the choice of compelling him to fight. Of the battle which ensued, we possess two most vivid narratives; one from the pen of D'Aubigné, the other from that of Sully, each of whom shared the dangers of the combat. Both these great men had rejoined their master on the very eve of the occurrence: D'Aubigné, on recovering from a severe illness; Sully, after a hazardous excursion to Paris in order to be present at the accouchement of his wife, then resident in the capital under a feigned name. It is no slight proof of the courageous zeal which animated every class among the Huguenots, that they continued to assemble in Paris for worship; and that the child of which Madame de Bethune was delivered, was held at the font by a friendly bourgeois and his wife, notwithstanding the real godfather was imprisoned at the moment on account of his faith, and that several women had been recently burned for infractions of the edict of Nemours.*

The army of Joyeuse amounted to somewhat more than 12,000 men, and a large reserve was advancing to increase his ranks; that of Navarre contained scarcely half the same number; and the hosts did not differ less in appearance than in absolute force. "For on the one side," to employ the words of Dryden, translating Maimbourg,† "there was nothing to be seen but gilded armour gloriously damasked, glittering in the sun; painted lances

* *Il y eut en ce temps là plusieurs femmes brûlées pour ce sujet. Sully, Mém. tom. i. liv. ii. p. 187; where he gives an account of the hazard to which he was exposed during this visit to Paris.*

† *History of the League*, p. 212. Maimbourg has closely followed D'Aubigné, who speaks of Joyeuse as *paré d'armes couvertes d'argent et d'ermail*; of the lances *si pleines de tafetas qu'elles portoient l'ombre*; of the royalists marching, *comme à la victoire et non au combat. Hist. Univ. tom. iii. liv. i. c. 14.*

covered over with ribands, with their banners dancing in the air; rich coats of velvet, with blazes and galloons of gold and silver, wherewith the troupe was habited, according to the colours of the captain; large and beautiful coloured plumes rising on their crest, and shadowing them in long bunches; scarves magnificently embroidered edged with long gold fringe; and all these young cavaliers carrying the cyphers and colours of their mistresses, as proudly adorned as if they were marching in a carrousal, and not on the poor giving battail. To conclude, we may say it was an army equipped after the Persian mode, where much luxury and pomp was seen, and so much gold and silk in the habits of the men and the caparisons of the horses.

"But the contrary side afforded no such spectacle; old souldiers inured to toil and labour, who were fierce and menacing; uncombed and cloathed, with their long buff-coats all bespattered over their coarse threadbare clothes, having no ornament than their trusty Bilbo by their sides. No sound armour on their breasts, mounted on travel-worn horses without housings, or any other part of bridle besides the horsemen on their backs; in fine, an army of another Alexander in opposition to the other Darius."

During the early part of the night of the 19th October, Navarre, profiting by his command of the river Doune, transported half his forces to its opposite bank; but having received certain information that Joyeuse intended to attack him at dawn, he abandoned his design of retreat, and once again

concentrated his whole force near Coutras. Oct. 20. The military reader of the present time will learn with surprise that the entire park of gunpowder field artillery was comprised in three pieces of cannon;* and that to the skill with which

* Sully, *Mém.* tom. i. liv. ii. p. 193.

inconsiderable battery was disposed, much of the success of the day is to be attributed. A remarkable instance of Henry's knowledge of the human heart (the whole tenor of his past and future life forbids us from supposing that he intended to discipline his own) is said to have been exhibited on the eve of this battle. Du Plessis and the minister Roche Chandieu earnestly remonstrated with the king, upon the great scandal occasioned by the dishonour in which he had involved the daughter of a magistrate of La Rochelle; and warned him that the favour of Heaven was little to be expected by an unrepentant sinner. The king listened meekly to this rebuke; performed an immediate penance in the church at Pons; offered all the reparation which he could afford to the lady whom he had wronged; and engaged that, if he survived the fight, he would undergo such further open penance as the church might think fit to adjudge.*

Whatever might be the sincerity with which Henry bowed to this spiritual censure, there can be no doubt of the ardent spirit of devotion which animated his followers. No sooner were the Huguenots arrayed in line, than they raised with one voice the 118th Psalm, and then knelt at the recital of a short prayer. The minister D'Amours, by whom it was delivered, drew his sword at the conclusion, and mingled with the leading combatants, with his head wholly uncovered and wearing no other defensive armour than a corslet. The attitude of prayer was mistaken by some of the younger cavaliers among the Royalists, who exclaimed with delight, and loud enough to be heard, "'Sdeath, they tremble! the

* The penance was submitted to *en la face de toute la Noblesse de son armée*. *Hist. de la vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay*, liv. i. p. 106. Els. 1647. The incident is dramatized by Preflexe, as occurring in the front of the line, *comme les escadrons estoient prêts d'aller à la charge*, p. 86. It is not mentioned by De Thou, nor by Sully, nor by D'Aubigné, nor by Mad. Du Plessis in her *Mémoires* of her husband, nor by Du Plessis himself in his detailed account of the battle, tom. iii. p. 586.

cowards are at confession!" A veteran officer, better acquainted with the habits of the Reformed than were his comrades, turned to Joyeuse, and assured him that after the Huguenots had been so employed, they might be expected to fight with desperation.*

The action commenced by murderous discharges from the Huguenot artillery, sweeping away from twelve to five-and-twenty file at every volley.† That of the Royalists was ill posted and unskilfully served; and the bullets for the most part fell short of their mark, intercepted by some rising ground. In order to avoid the destructive fire of his opponents, Joyeuse ordered a charge, which he led in person; and which, from its impetuosity, for awhile occasioned some confusion in the Huguenot ranks. The battle then became general, and almost every chief fought hand to hand; the King of Navarre, pressed by a foe on either side, discharged his pistol at one, and seizing the other by the throat, shouted, "Yield thee, Philistine." Turenne was unhorsed; the Count de Soissons, a half-brother of the Prince of Condé, who had recently abandoned the Romish profession and joined the banner of the Reformed, fought "as if he had never known any other em-

* All the above particulars may be found in D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. i. c. 14. He describes D'Amours as "Ministre et gentilhomme qui avec la teste et les bras desarmez avoit meslé aux premiers, et tiré l'espée en achevant la priere." When the Huguenots knelt, plusieurs Catholiques de la Cornette blanche crierent assez haut pour se faire entendre, "Par la mord, ils tremblent les poltrons! ils se confessent!" Vaux, Lieutenant de Bellegarde, qui avoit plus souvent frotté ses genoux avec ces gens-là que ses compagnons, et qui seul rallié au combat, dit au Duc, "Monsieur, quand les Huguenots font cette mine ils sont prest de se bien battre." Matthieu and Pierre de l'Estoile ascribe this observation to Lavardin.

In an account of the taking of Marans in 1588, we are told that some of the prisoners informed their captors, that no sooner had the Huguenots been seen to kneel before the engagement, than a cry ran through the leaguers; "*Ils prient Dieu; ils nous battront comme à Coutras.*" Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 214.

† Sully, tom. i. liv. ii. p. 193. *Septies disposure repetita.* De Thou, xxxvii. 6.

ployment.* Scarcely an hour had elapsed when the royalists gave way on all sides ; and Joyeuse perceiving that defeat was certain, resolved not to survive his dishonour. To St. Luc, the single officer who remained by him, and who asked " What is to be done now ? " he answered, " To die ! " and in a few moments afterward, having been taken prisoner, he was deliberately shot by a Huguenot captain, either in a dispute concerning his ransom, or in reprisal for some cruelties which he had committed in the early part of the campaign.† St. Luc owed his escape to an act of remarkable daring. Observing the Prince of Condé actively engaged in pursuit, he couched his lance, and, galloping till he struck full on his breastplate, overthrew him by the blow. Then springing from his horse, he assisted his fallen enemy to rise, and tendering his gauntlet with respect, acknowledged himself his prisoner.‡ The gallantry displayed in each of these knightly acts secured the praise and the leniency of the prince to whom he surrendered.

The victory was complete ; arms, standards, baggage, and artillery remained in the possession of the conqueror. More than 400 royalists of honourable birth, and 3000 soldiers were left dead on the field ; and this great success was purchased by the trifling loss of five Huguenot gentlemen and twenty men at arms."§ Every narrative of this battle which we have read teems with chivalrous anecdotes of Henry. When about to make his first charge, he addressed himself to Condé and Soissons, reminding them that

* *Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons sembloit n'avoir fait autre chose.* Du Plessis, *Bataille de Coutras*, &c. tom. iii. cxlii. p. 545.

† Perhaps because he was known to have forbidden quarter before this engagement, even if it were to the king of Navarre himself. D'Aubigné, *ut sup.*

‡ D'Aubigné, *ut sup.*

§ D'Aubigné, *ut supra.* One of the prisoners remarked to his captor, *vous n'avez rien fait pour vous, car vous avez irrité le Roy.* The Huguenot in reply, *pria Dieu qu'ils le peussent souvent irriter de cette façon.*

they all three were Bourbons, and that he would that day prove himself the eldest.* During the pursuit, it was reported to him that the fugitives were halting, and afterward that they were again advancing to the field supported by the expected junction of that reinforcement which was known to be on its march. "On, my friends," was his answer, "two battles in one day will be a novelty!"† But his moderation, after his triumph, was equally conspicuous, and yet more glorious than even the valour and self-possession by which victory had been obtained. He joined in thanksgiving on the field, with D'Amours, who resumed his ministerial functions unhurt; he secured honourable treatment to the remains of Joyeuse and of his brother, St. Sauveur, who had fallen together with him; he exerted himself to stop the carnage; he received his prisoners with distinguished courtesy, and released many of them without ransom. To one who asked what conditions he would now demand after a success so splendid‡ he replied unhesitatingly, "Just the same as I would have accepted after a defeat,—a renewal of the edict of Poitiers;"§ and in conformity with this declaration, he despatched a courier to the king, with a letter expressive of his dutiful obedience, of his desire for peace, and of his bitter regret for the miserable effusion of blood of which self-defence had compelled him to be the unwilling instrument.¶

* Preface, p. 84.

† *Id.* p. 85.

‡ D'Aubigné, *ut sup.*

§ Du Plessis, *Bataille de Coutras*, tom. iii. cxlii. p. 548. *Remontrance à la France*, tom. iv. p. 26

CHAPTER XVI.

Causes of inaction after the Battle of Coutras—Disastrous Retreat of the Auxiliaries—Increased power of the League—Death of Condé—Origin and character of the Seize—Guise enters Paris notwithstanding the King's Prohibition—The Barricades—Flight of the King—Firmness of Sir Edward Stafford—Edict of Reunion—Guise Lieutenant-general—Hd States-General at Blois—Assassination of the Guises—Death of Catherine de Medicis—Fury of the Parisians—The Sorbonne renounces Allegiance—Absurd Charges of Sorcery against Henry III.—Progress of Rebellion—The Duke of Mayenne nominated Lieutenant-general of the State and Crown of France—Conduct of the Huguenots—Treaty between the two Kings—Their interview at Plessis-lez-Tours.

HOWEVER brilliant was the success which attended the King of Navarre's arms at Coutras, the force by which he achieved it was so constituted as to prevent him from reaping substantial benefit from his victory. To penetrate at once into the Nivernois, and thus to effect a junction with the German auxiliaries on the banks of the Loire, was the movement which obviously afforded the greatest prospect of future advantage. But, even if we attribute less weight than has sometimes been assigned to the motives of personal ambition by which the leading Huguenots were said to be actuated,* enough is to be found in the peculiar circumstances of the army itself to account for its inaction. Of the troops which had been hastily levied in Saintonge, Poitou, and Angoumois, few were provided with equipments sufficient for more than the immediate combat in which they had been present; the Gascons and the other more distant provincials had left their homes without arrangement for their protection; many of

* Sully, at the commencement of his *III*d Book, attributes to Condé, Montmorency, and Turenne, a design of appropriating to themselves certain provinces dismembered from France.

the conquerors had lost their entire baggage ; many others (an occurrence more fatal to discipline) were overcharged with booty. It became necessary, therefore, to suspend immediate operations, to keep together as many regiments as were qualified to occupy the field, and to allow a short period of furlough previously to the reorganization of the main army ;* Turenne was left in chief command in Perigord, where a general rendezvous was to take place before the close of November ; and the king of Navarre, too readily abandoning himself to his besetting weakness, withdrew from his scene of recent glory to offer his hard-won trophies at the feet of a mistress in Bearne.

Not all the evil, however, which ensued during the remainder of this campaign, must be charged upon the unseasonable dispersion of the Huguenots. The foreign troops, inadequately commanded and badly disciplined, after quitting the line of march originally projected for their advance,† entangled themselves without guides in countries with which they were imperfectly acquainted. So ill were their precautions taken, that they were twice surprised and defeated with great slaughter by Guise.‡ Before they regained the frontiers in their disastrous retreat, famine, disease, the sword, and the fury of the peasantry had destroyed one-half of the Germans ; and 12,000 Swiss having obtained a capitulation and received a considerable payment, altogether abandoned the cause in which they had engaged. The dissipation of this great armament, whose invasion had occasioned very reasonable alarm, was a source of undeserved temporary popularity to the king,

* These reasons are often repeated by Du Plessis, and always with an identity of statement which carries with it strong evidence of truth. See tom. iv. p. 37. 39. 132.

† Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 133.

‡ At Ville Mory on Oct. 29, at Anneau, Nov. 24. Both these engagements are related by Pasquier, liv. xi. Ep. xv. See also Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 82, 94.

who in his heart sincerely lamented its overthrow. Nevertheless, on his return to Paris, which he entered with a show of triumphal pomp, he was hailed by the rabble with enthusiastic acclamations; and as he dismounted at Notre Dame, booted and spurred, to offer a thanksgiving before the altar, the streets echoed with long-forgotten shouts of *Vive le Roy*.* The clergy, indeed, were not forgetful of the superior claims of Guise, and the royal ears were speedily offended by hearing from every pulpit that if Saul had slain his thousands, tens of thousands had fallen beneath David.† Still farther to weaken the king's hold on this short-lived popularity, his conduct in the recent campaign was assailed through that of his favourite; and pamphlets were hawked about the capital, in which, after the expectations of the purchaser had been raised by an inflated title, promising a full description of the magnificent gestures of the Duke of Epernon in the war against the heretics, the eye rested upon nothing more than some sheets of blank paper.‡

The King of Navarre, under his disappointment, looked anxiously to England for support; and the high value which he placed upon the good opinion of Elizabeth is attested by the earnestness with which he apologized to her for his recent miscarriages. We find letters addressed to Walsingham,§ to Leicester,|| and to Burleigh,¶ in each of which much labour is expended to exculpate the Huguenot leaders, and to impute every calamity which

* Pasquier, *ibid*.

† *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 33.

‡ *Les hauts faits, gestes et vaillances de M. d'Espèrnon en son voyage en Provence.* Brantôme *Disc.* lxxix. 12. tom. vii. p. 443. De Thou gives a similar account, with a slight variation, lxxxvii. 15. He mentions also that perverse ingenuity discovered that *Noguarestus*, the Latin name of Epernon, might be anagrammatized into *Gaverstonus*; and a parallel was directly instituted between the English and French minions, xc. f.

§ Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 167.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 182.

¶ *Id. ibid.* p. 181.

had occurred to the treachery of the Swiss and the insubordination of the Germans. The instructions to the special envoy employed upon this mission are framed in a similar tone; and it is deeply impressed upon him that he is to omit no pains to remove any unfavourable prejudices which may have induced the queen to believe that there has been a want of diligence on the part of the King of Navarre.*

1588. The approach of the year 1588 had been long regarded with superstitious terror by all Europe.† The weak, the curious, and the credulous, influenced by one of those fever fits of imagination which appear to recur periodically, distorted the prophecies by fanciful accommodations, and proclaimed the coming of the final judgment. By the astrologers it was forenamed *The Year of Marvels*, and the *Grand Climacteric of the World*;‡ and even a graver authority, when looking back upon the political convulsions by which France was agitated during its course, persuaded himself that those troublous events were in reality ushered in by prodigies. "What else, unless prognostics of impending evil," says the otherwise judicious Perefixe, "can we esteem the earthquake by which the channel of the Loire and all Normandy was riven; the six weeks' succession of tempests which agitated our seas; the numberless meteors which blazed in

* Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 194.

† The opinion concerning the fatality of the year 1588, was not less prevalent in England than on the Continent. Mr. Faunt, writing from London so long beforehand as June 13, 1586, notices "the many strange accidents which give no small credit to the old prophecy of the approaching year 1588." Birch, *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 52.

‡ *Quem Regiomontanus Astronomus, ante seculum, Annum fore mirabilem, et Germani Astrologi Mundi Climactericum prædixerunt.* Camden, *Annal. Eliz. Pars iii. ad init. ann.* De Thou calls the reign of Henry III. the Climacteric of France. "Ut in vitâ singulorum hominum annum *lxiij. climactericum* esse ac ferè lethalem, sic cum a Varmundo, a quo seriem Regum nostrorum Patrii Annales repetunt, ad Henricum III. *lxiii.* Reges numerentur, videri Regem hunc Regno Francico fatalem et ultimum ex ea familiâ fore." xlv. 13.

the heavens; or the impenetrable fog which so enveloped Paris as to make torches necessary at midday!"* Without assenting to the connexion thus sought to be established between the moral and the physical world, it must be admitted that the elements in both of them exhibited great apparent sympathy during the year upon which we are now entering; and it can awaken little surprise that the coincidence occasioned much remark.

The leaguers early evinced their consciousness of the increased strength which they had derived from the overthrow of the German army; and the Guise faction, assembled at Nancy, proposed to the king a series of articles, which, if accepted, would have deprived him of even his remaining shadow of authority. He was required to annex himself to the league more openly and in good earnest, removing from his presence, and from their posts and offices, certain persons hereafter to be named; to proclaim the reception of the Council of Trent throughout all his dominions; to establish the Holy Inquisition in his principal cities, as the best means of *disposing of* heretics† and suspicious persons; with an especial provision that the inquisitors should be foreigners, or at least that they should neither be born nor possess any connexions in the places which they were to superintend; to commit to the chiefs of the league certain important towns which they might fortify and garrison; to furnish subsidies for troops to be maintained as a barrier against invasion in Lorraine; and for that purpose, and for the support of the war, to sell all the property of heretics and their associates, without any

* Prefixe, p. 90. De Thou, xc. 1, where he rivals Livy in prodigies. The great fog on Sunday, Jan. 24, 1588, is noticed by Pierre de l'Estoile, who says the court-yards of the houses in Paris were filled with wild geese and other uncommon birds, which had lost their way in the darkness, and were stunned by striking themselves against the walls and chimneys. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 89.

† *De se defaire.*

demur, for as much as it would produce ; during the continuance of war to demand a contribution of one-third, or of at least one-fourth of their property, from all persons, of every rank and condition, who may have been reputed heretics at any time since 1560 ; to appropriate the sums first produced by the above imposts to the payment of the debts necessarily contracted by the chiefs of the league ; and to reserve the surplus in the hands of commissioners, to be employed in like manner hereafter, without the possibility of diversion to any other purpose ; and, lastly, to refuse quarter to every prisoner taken from the enemy, unless he would solemnly swear, and also give sufficient surety, to conform to the Catholic church. If his property had not yet been sold, he was to be compelled to pay its full value in ready money ; if otherwise, he was to renounce all future pretensions to it, and to engage to serve without pay for at least three years, in any capacity in which it might be thought fit to employ him.* The utter helplessness of the king cannot be more strongly depicted than by adding that he did not venture to reject or even to modify these conditions, but that he was content to elude their fulfilment by temporizing.†

March 5. A severe blow was inflicted on the Huguenots early in this spring, by the sudden death of the Prince of Condé. "A single piece of news," wrote Du Plessis to Turenne, "will convey to you abundance of evil tidings. Monseigneur the prince is dead, and as it is believed by poison. On Thursday last, he amused himself by running at the ring, and before Saturday night he had breathed his last."‡ The body, on dissection, exhibited unequivocal marks of foul play :§ suspicion

* *Mémoires de la Ligue*, tom. ii. p. 269. D'Aubigné *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. i. c. 18. p. 69. Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 168.

† De Thou, xc. 5.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 185.

§ *Post mortem* examination, in the *Mém. de la Ligue*. tom. ii. p. 304.

attached to two domestics who had absconded, and a third, Brillaud, the comptroller of the prince's household, who was proved to have furnished them with horses and money, was arrested, and underwent the horrible punishment apportioned to regicides. These minor instruments were not the only persons whom the investigation of this great crime involved in judicial processes. Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille, the widow and second wife of the late prince, was accused of having instigated the murder; and the commissioners whom the King of Navarre appointed, regardless of her sex and station, and exceeding their legitimate authority, condemned her to the question.* The sentence was not to be executed till forty days had elapsed from her delivery of a child of which she was then pregnant; and either the joy occasioned by the birth of a male heir to the House of Condé, or the subsidence of the first excitement resulting from his father's murder, ultimately saved her from this peril and indignity. During six years, however, she continued to languish in close imprisonment; till having asserted her claim, as a princess of the blood, to be tried by the highest court in the realm, her cause was evoked to the Parliament of Paris. The brothers of her deceased husband persisted in their former accusation, but the princess having renounced the Huguenot faith, and consented that her son should be educated as a Romanist, obtained an *arrêt*, annulling all the proceedings of inferior tribunals, and registering her innocence without retrieving her character.†

* "Decretum est ut Tremollia ipsa, defuncti uxor, violentæ questionis subjiçatur." De Thou, xc. 7. *Var. Lect. β*.

† The prevalent opinion seems disadvantageous to this unhappy woman; unhappy if innocent, immeasurably more so if guilty. The detestable scandal of the times imputed to her an intrigue with Henry IV. himself (*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 53, note), and in volume iii. of the same work may be found many official papers illustrative of the process against her. De Thou has briefly noticed her appeal to the Par-

Henry, Prince of Condé, thus prematurely snatched away, in his thirty-fifth year, inherited many of the noble qualities which are almost heir-looms of his name. His reputation may be less brilliant, because, perhaps, his manners were less captivating than those of his father; but in his eventful, although brief career, we discover numerous traces of ardour, of activity, of energy, and of valour, which claim for him a record scarcely less illustrious than that assigned to Louis; and a constancy of purpose which may perhaps entitle him to rank as his superior. The King of Navarre, although not untinged with secret jealousy of his cousin, bitterly lamented his death; spoke of it as the severing of his right arm from his body; and pursued his suspected murderers with unremitting zeal.* The Duke of Guise, seldom deficient in generosity, shed tears when he learned the disastrous fate of his enemy; and it remained for the brutal rabble of the capital, and for the bigoted Cardinal of Bourbon, to attribute the perpetration of this atrocious crime to the hand of God. The former joined with their preachers in ascribing the death of Condé to a special judgment of Providence; the latter, when he carried the intelligence to the king, prefaced his announcement by observing, "You perceive, sire, what it is to be excommunicated."†

The news of Condé's death had summoned Guise to Picardy, in order to strengthen himself in that province against the Duke of Epemon, upon whom the king had bestowed its vacant government.

liament, cxii. 6. Daniel mentions a report, to which he says no credit was attached, that the prince's death was owing to the blow which he received when unhorsed by St. Luc at Coutras, tom. vi. p. 157. It is but just to add, that Madame Du Plessis, in the *Mémoires* of her husband, terms the process *une affaire perplexe et du commencement mal enfourmée* (tom. i. p. 164), and that the recent editor of those *Mémoires* speaks of the princess as *injustement accusée*. (Tom. i. p. 162, note.)

* Perefine, p. 91. Du Plessis, tom. i. p. 163.

† De Thou, xv. 7. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 93.

While thus employed, he received intelligence from Paris which called him to yet more undisguised resistance of the authority of the crown than any upon which he had hitherto ventured. The king still hesitated to avow his final determination respecting the proposed Articles of Nancy; and well acquainted with the progress of a conspiracy which had been long maturing in the capital, he probably awaited only a favourable moment to spring stealthily upon its chiefs, whom he possessed neither strength nor courage to encounter openly. Paris, always seditious and prepared for revolt, during the last three years had organized from the sixteen *Quartiers* into which it was then divided, an insurrectionary council distinguished by the name of *Les Seize*, not on account of its own numbers, which continually varied,* but of that of its constituents.

The materials out of which this formidable band was constituted, resembled those which for the most part appear common to every conspiracy. The discontented, the desperate, and the ambitious; the blind, the busy, and the turbulent; men of disappointed prospects and of broken fortunes—all whose hopes had outgrown their means, and whose self-will chafed against restraint; all who hated subordination and were jealous of superiority, formed the van and assumed the guidance. With these were mingled a few who honestly sought the reform of an oppressive and corrupt government; and a host whom vanity, idleness, misdirected excitement, the weakness of simplicity, or the contagion of numbers allured to join in the cry. If heat were needed to ferment this mass, it was supplied in

* Sometimes, however, they were considered to be really sixteen. In the *Satire Menippée* they are noticed by the cant name of *le Cube quarre*, (p. 2.) After four of their number had been hanged by order of the Duke of Mayenne, they are styled the Apostles (p. 13.), and an Epigram tells us (p. 202),

De Seize ils sont réduits a Douze.

abundance by the fanaticism of ecclesiastics ; lawyers added colouring by sophistry, and pungency by declamation ; and the requisite proportion of coarser strength and substance was contributed by association with opulent bourgeois.

After making such deductions as our knowledge of the virulence of party satire demands, the leading characteristics of public men may often be gathered most truly from their contemporary sobriquets ; and without vouching for the absolute fidelity of the portraits, we may feel certain that caricatures afford a strong resemblance of outline. Thus when in reviewing the *Seize*, we read among others of Bruyere the Jaundiced,* Bussy the Bully, Louchart the Rhodomontader, Senault the would-be Conjuror, Brouart the Smooth-tongued, Alvequin the Philosopher, Tablier the Dreamer, Messier the Babbler, Oudineau the Swindler, and Morin the Coney-catcher,† it is impossible not to recognise in this catalogue many qualifications which frequently obtain undue ascendancy for their owners during seasons of great national effervescence ; and which we may therefore reasonably suppose were in very truth possessed by those to whom they are attributed.

The connexion between Guise and this Parisian faction was engendered and strengthened by their mutual necessities. The rabble chiefs perceived the advantage which they must derive from the sanction of an illustrious name, long popular in the capital ; and from the military skill of the distinguished officers deputed to co-operate with them ; and the Lorrainers knew that the *Seize*, whenever they issued their summons, could array 20,000 men in arms. Hitherto, however, every rising which

* "Le Sire safrannier de la Ligue." The pleasantry is untranslatable : the French say of a bankrupt, "qu'il est allé au safran."

† "Dialogue d'entre le Maheustre et le Manant. *Preuves de la Satire Menippée*," tom. iii. p. 465,

had been projected with the object of securing the king's person, of massacring his favourites, and ultimately, no doubt, of overthrowing his government, had been frustrated at the very eve of its occurrence, by some hidden means which the conspirators were unable to develop. Their intentions, indeed, had been invariably betrayed by one who represented himself to the king's party as an unwilling participator in treason; and the court, thus forewarned, had always applied a timely preventive, without encountering the necessity of forcible and very dangerous collision.

The revelations of an informer and an accomplice must always be received with caution; yet the general statement contained in the *Procès Verbal* of Nicolas Poulain,* who revealed the designs of the *Seize*, are sufficiently corroborated by actual events to entitle them to the credit of authenticity. Warned by this agent that a new attempt was in contemplation, the king assembled 4000 April 24. Swiss in the suburbs of Paris as a reinforcement to his ordinary body-guard, and ostentatiously transported large convoys of arms from the arsenal to the Louvre. The fears of the *Seize* were painfully awakened by this unusual display of preparation; and apprehensive of full discovery and of consequent punishment, they despatched repeated messengers to Guise, urging his immediate presence in the capital as their only chance of safety. If, during this interval, Henry had profited by the alarm which his demonstrations of vigour had inspired, it is probable that he might have crushed the faction at a blow; but, infirm in his own purpose, and betrayed by his nearest counsellors, instead of at once arresting the ringleaders of the conspiracy, he con-

* *Procès Verbal de Nicolas Poulain, Lieutenant de la Prévôté de l'Isle de France, qui contient l'histoire de la Ligue depuis le 2 Janvier, 1586, jusqu'au Jour des Barricades le 12 May, 1588. Printed in the Journal de Henri III. tom. ii. p. 228.*

tented himself by forbidding Guise from entering Paris. The secretary whom he despatched with this prohibition was without full instructions, and executed his verbal commission but feebly and inadequately; the written orders next forwarded were sent by the ordinary post, instead of an especial courier, because the royal treasurer refused to advance the twenty-five crowns necessary for the expenses of the latter.* Guise accordingly denied the receipt of the despatch, which perhaps in truth might never have been delivered.

Undeterred by these royal commands, and perhaps deriving as much confidence from his knowledge of the king's imbecility as from that of his own strength, Guise fearlessly entered

May 9. Paris at noon-day, with a retinue of only eight attendants. His reception almost justified this immeasurable boldness. As he rode through the streets, unnumbered throngs poured forth from their houses to accompany his progress; blessings from every lip pursued his steps; and he was greeted by incessant shouts of "Long life to Guise, the bulwark of our religion, the pillar of our faith!"† Twice was he admitted to the royal presence, and twice, after much idle and unkingly expostulation, did the weak prince permit the rebellious subject who thus braved him in his very palace, to withdraw unimpeded and in safety.

On the third morning, Henry prepared for more active measures, and disposed troops in several wards of the city, with the intention of seizing and punishing the chief propagators of sedition. But the favourable moment had passed

* Matthieu *Hist. de France*, tom. i. liv. viii. p. 544.

† *Vive Henri, vive Guise,
Vive le Pillier de l'Eglise!*

Dogget supposed to have been written after his victory over the Relistres at Auneau. D'Aubigné *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. i. c. 23. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 95. The entrance of Guise to Paris is very finely described by Davila, ix. tom. i. p. 533.

away; the *Seize* had recovered from their first panic, and the alarm with which they now took pains to imbue their fellow-citizens, was calculated not to diminish their nerve, but to awaken their fury.* Lists of the proscribed were diligently circulated, in which the chief Romanists, commencing with Guise himself, were marked for the executioner; and when the drums beat, and the Swiss took their station on the morning of the 12th of May, the populace anticipated the horrors of an indiscriminate massacre. The shops were instantly closed;† the bourgeois ran to arms; and in the face of the royal troops (who, not having received orders to act, passively regarded their operations), closed every street by a hasty, but effectual barricade, chiefly formed of barrels filled with earth, and piled upon each other. By these ramparts (if we may so call them), and by chains drawn across the thoroughfares, at the distance of about fifty paces from each other, in the short course of two hours, the separate royalist battalions were entirely deprived of communication with their comrades, and blockaded without means of retreat. The windows of the houses which commanded their several posts were occupied by the inhabitants armed with muskets; the barricades were advanced within fifty paces of the palace; and the Maréchal Biron, who had been despatched from it to reconnoitre, reported to the king, that if force were attempted, he would have as many citadels to storm as there were streets in Paris; and that if he were at the head of even 50,000 men, all of them must be cut to pieces in traversing the narrow distance between the Louvre and the Pont au Change.**

* "Attonitos antea, nunc ejus adventu confirmatos ad extrema tentanda." De Thou xc. 10.

† The Swiss entered the city an hour before daybreak; and Davila very precisely explains that the shops were already opened, in conformity with the early habits of the Parisians. "Chiudendo l'entrate delle botteghe, che conforme all' uso della città di lavorar e innanzi giorno, già s'erano cominciate d'aprire," ix. tom. i. p. 541.

‡ "Histoire tres veritable de ce qui est advenu en ceste ville de Paris
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During many hours, the populace, without attempting violence, sternly regarded the soldiery, who remained motionless on their posts; and it was not till the afternoon, that a shot fired, perhaps accidentally, by a royalist, gave the signal for attack. As the Swiss attempted to withdraw from the *Marché Neuf*, they were ordered by the mob to extinguish their matches; and on their refusal, the street in a moment was covered with dead. "It was a piteous sight," says a leaguer who witnessed the massacre, "to behold the Swiss throwing down their arms, falling one over another, pursued on all sides, whelmed by volleys of stones which the women showered from the windows, and calling out in imploring tones, France! France! We also are Christians!" But their cries for mercy were drowned by louder shouts of "Kill, kill!"*

The early part of the day had been passed by Guise in his own house, the present Hotel de Soubise; in the street before which, De Thou, attracted by curiosity, saw him walking with the Archbishop of Lyons. He was busied in issuing orders, and in listening to reports of the progress of events in different parts of the city; and although his demeanour was not altogether free from anxiety, the historian assures us that his countenance wore an air of serenity, bespeaking full confidence of success.† About five in the evening, having received a message from the king, entreating him to prevent the continuance of bloodshed, he showed himself among the barricades, unarmed; and succeeded in obtaining permission for

depuis le 7 May, 1588, jusques au dernier jour de Juin ensuyvant audit an," p. 49. This tract, originally published in 1588, is reprinted among the *Preuves de la Satyre Menippée*, tom. iii. p. 39.

* *Id.* p. 58. About fifty of the Swiss were killed.

† De Thou, *de Vita Sued.*, lib. iii. tom. vi. p. 81. *Id. Hist.* xc. 10. Davila also has given an account of an interview, early on the same morning, between his brother Luigi, who was sent by Catherine, under pretext of a complimentary message, to Guise. The duke, who understood the object of the visit, exhibited his house to the agent, who describes it to have been full of arms and armed men, *ib. tom. i. p. 642.*

the surviving troops to withdraw without molestation. Slowly, bareheaded, and with their arms reversed,* they were conducted beyond the walls; and before evening closed Guise remained undisputed master of Paris.†

The night was passed in alarm, but without actual tumult; each householder being compelled to place lights in his windows, and the people remaining under arms. On the morrow, the king was advised that his person could no longer be considered safe if he continued in the Louvre; that the leaguers avowed their intention of making "Father Henry de Valois" their prisoner;‡ and that, unless he immediately profited by the access to the Tuilleries which was still uninterrupted, all hope of escape would be at an end. This warning is said to have been conveyed by the queen-mother, who, both on that and on the former day, had fearlessly made her passage through the disturbed streets to the Hotel of Guise. The barricades forbade the progress of her coach,§ and as she was lifted over one of those rude bulwarks, a friendly bourgeois is believed to have whispered in her ear intelligence of the king's extreme danger, which she found means to notify in the palace.|| No sooner did Henry receive these alarming tidings, than he hastened on foot to the stables of the Tuilleries through a postern; and taking horse, with as many of his attendants as he

May 13.

* "Passarono tutti i soldati senza ordinanza e senza tamburi; con la testa scoperta, e con l'armi basse, a guisa di prigionieri." *Il. ibid.* p. 543.

† The resemblance in many points between the *Jour des Barricades*, and the French Revolution of 1830, is very striking. In the former, we read of 700 or 800 *Ecoliers* of the University as foremost in the attack, whose place in our own days appears to have been supplied by the pupils of the *École Polytechnique*. Davila, *ibid.* p. 541. *Hist. tres veritable*, p. 53. "Amplification des particularitez qui se passerent à Paris lors que M. de Guyse s'empara et que le Roy en sortit." *Sat. Men.* tom. iii. p. 68. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 99.

‡ *Journal de Henri III.* *ibid.*

§ Her passage from the Louvre to Guise's hotel occupied two hours. Davila, ix. tom. i. p. 544.

|| *Id. ibid.* p. 547.

could collect and as could be mounted in the exigency, he rode at full speed that night to Trapes, and proceeded on the next morning to Chartres. Once only is he said to have reined his horse, as he mounted the rising ground at Chaillot; whence, throwing back an indignant glance at the walls of his rebellious capital, he swore that he would never again enter them unless through a breach.*

Every hour of the few eventful days which we have been narrating appears to have been fraught with some new political blunder on both sides, and each party in turn threw away opportunities, not to be recovered, which had placed the other in its power. If Henry had arrested Guise on his first entrance to Paris, it can scarcely be doubted that he could have brought him to the scaffold by judicial forms, as a rebel and a traitor. If Guise had surrounded the Louvre while the king abode within it, he might have disposed of the crown. The one was, perhaps, stupified by an excess of daring which appeared to assert invulnerability; the other was dazzled by the brightness of his triumph at the commencement, and wanted sufficient steadiness of vision to guide it to its close.† “What imprudence! what rashness!” was the remark of the acute Sixtus V., when he heard that Guise had trusted himself in the Louvre; but when the messenger continued to state that he had quitted it and was at liberty, the pope directed his pity to the king’s want of courage, and exclaimed, “Alas, poor prince!”‡

* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 100.

† On the morning after the Barricades, perhaps at the very moment at which Henry was making his escape, Guise wrote as follows, with a blind confidence in the future. *J’ai défait les Suisses et taillé en pièces une partie des Gardes du Roy, et tien le Louvre investi de si près que je rendrai bon compte de ce qui est dedans. Cette victoire est si grande qu’il en sera mémoire à jamais.* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 106, note. Could Maimbourg have seen this letter when he expressed his opinion, that it is “evident that the duke had never any intention to seize the person of the king?” *Hist. of The League*, Dryden’s Translation, p. 358.

‡ *De Thou*, xc. 12.

Rapidly as we are compelled to dismiss this most interesting portion of our narrative, because the Huguenots are not immediate actors in the great scene; and reluctantly as we must abstain from drawing upon the profusion of anecdote by which it is vividly illustrated, there is a single incident upon which an English writer may be forgiven if he ventures to delay. Guise anxiously regarded the estimation in which his conduct might be held by foreign courts,* and especially by that of Elizabeth: and he therefore omitted no courtesy by which he might favourably impress Sir Edward Stafford, at that time resident ambassador from England. During these tumults, the Sieur de Brissac was deputed to tender him assurances of protection and a guard for his hotel. Stafford replied that, if he were no more than a private individual, he would at once return all due thanks to Guise for his generous and honourable offer; but that being deputed to the King of France by the queen his mistress, it was only from that king, her ally, that he either could or would admit protection. When Brissac spoke of the commotion then raging, extenuated the part which Guise was obliged to act in his own defence, and besought Stafford so to represent it to his court that it might be favourably understood; he was silenced by a frank declaration that the events passing at that moment in Paris must appear most strange and evil to every prince in Christendom; that no embroidery, however rich and costly, could conceal their foulness,† for that it was the plain duty of a subject to yield just obedience to his sovereign; that he would willingly promise to inform his mistress of every thing then occurring: but that to become the mouth-piece by which the conceptions of M. de Guise and his party

* "Guisius jam de samâ sollicitus et quam in partem hæc ab exteris principibus acciperentur anxius." *Id. ibid.*

† "Que nul habit, diaprè qu'il fult, ne le pourroit faire trouver beau. Amplif. des particularitez," &c. p. 74.

were to be conveyed, by no means appertained to his office ; and that, indeed, the queen was far too sagacious to view facts according to any peculiar light in which he might think fit to exhibit them.

"Have you arms in your house?" inquired Brissac. "If you were to ask that question of me," answered Stafford, "as of one who formerly enjoyed the friendship of your uncle the *Sieur de Cossé*, I might perhaps answer yes ; but, in the public character which I have the honour to hold, I must be silent." When further informed that the mob suspected his house to be armed, and would probably attack it, he replied, that he had two gates, each of which should remain unclosed, but should be defended to the utmost, in order that all the world might acknowledge that the law of nations had been violated in his person. "Once again, as a friend, let me ask you if you have arms?"—"Since you ask me as a friend," returned the minister, "I will answer you as a friend: If I were here as a private person, I would assuredly be armed; but as the ambassador of England, I rely upon no other arms than the faith of nations."—"At least," said Brissac, "let me entreat you to close your gates;" and even in this parting request he failed. "The house of an ambassador," observed Stafford, "ought to be always open to every comer and goer; and, in a word, I am sent to France not to reside in Paris only, but to be near your king, in whatever spot he may hold his court."*

Of Sir Edward Stafford, who thus firmly maintained the honour of his country, our information is more scanty than his manifest good qualities deserve. A short notice of him may be found in the *Hardwicke State Papers*, where he and Throckmorton are ranked by the noble editor as Elizabeth's two ablest

* *Amplification des particularitez, &c.* De Thou, xc. 12. Sir Edward Stafford's residence is noted by the latter as "infra Braubatinam plateau ad Bernardinorum caium," on the *Quay des Bernardins*.

ambassadors in France.* Some very interesting despatches to the queen are there also printed. In one of them, dated a few months before the Barri-cades,† Stafford gives an account of a most important secret interview, conducted with extraordinary precaution, to which he had been summoned by Henry. "I spake yesternight with the French king, who sent for me by a man quite unknown, to a house that I think I can guess at again, though it was in the night, and he brought me far out of the right way to it, where I found nobody but myself. In the house I heard folks, but nobody saw me, nor I saw nobody, for he that brought me tarried not in the chamber." In the conversation which ensued, Henry attributed all the existing difficulties to the Reistres, who, he said, if they had possessed either courage or discretion, might have destroyed the league. He looked to a union with the King of Navarre as his chief hope, and he was anxious to throw himself unreservedly on Elizabeth's mediation.‡ One other despatch to the queen contains some amusing private history. Lady Stafford appears to have been a woman of intrigue, well adapted to the circle in which she mixed at the Louvre; but Elizabeth felt considerable repugnance at obtaining secret information through this channel, and the ambassador apologizes as follows for having heretofore employed his wife's agency. "For this your majesty may assure yourself of, that there are four women in the court, Mesdames Villeroy and Retz, the Princesses of Condé and Nevers, that have all the news and most secretest devices in the court; for there is never a one of them, or at least among these four one of them, that hath not either a lover, an honourer, or a private friend of the secretest council in the court, that will almost hide nothing from them. With these she having conference, as they all desire her company, among women (*except princesses of your quality*)

* Vol. i. p. 196.

† Feb. 25, 1588.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 251.

few things but are ripped up ; and the more bending they feel in religion, the more frankness, both in men and women, commonly there is ; and the more they feel this bend, the more they use frankness, hoping to make them full coming." In consequence of the queen's dislike to this mode of *espionage*, Stafford then professes his intention of abandoning it ; and adds, that he will seek some other way, "the cleanliest that I can."*

We need not pursue with minuteness the negotiations which the degraded Henry was compelled to maintain after his flight ; they were conducted by the queen-mother, and they produced a treaty, the *Edict of Reunion*, which confirmed the triumph of Guise by legal sanction. After a preamble, urging the extirpation of heresy, and declaratory of interminable war against the pretended Reformed, it enjoined an oath that, if the king should de cease without male issue, no successor should be admitted who did not profess the Catholic faith.†

Two armies were levied against the Huguenots ; Guise received the appointment of lieutenant-general ; and the Cardinal of Bourbon was declared first prince of the blood, with all the privileges belonging to that high station.‡ The king consented to receive Guise at his court and table ; and when entertaining him at Chartres,

August 4. declared first prince of the blood, with all the privileges belonging to that high station.‡ The king consented to receive Guise at his court and table ; and when entertaining him at Chartres,

* *Id. ibid.* p. 215. Lady Stafford was Douglas, eldest daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, and niece to the Duke of Norfolk, beheaded for his conspiracy in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. After the death of her first husband, John Lord Sheffield, she was privately married, as there can be little doubt, to Leicester, by whom she had a son, the celebrated Sir Robert Dudley. The account of his claim to his father's title and estates, and the arbitrary suppression of his process, may be found in Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 222. Lady Stafford was one only of the numerous similar victims of Leicester's villany. She declared that she consented to marry Sir Edward Stafford, while her lawful husband was still alive, solely in order to save her life, "having had some ill potions" given her, which occasioned the loss of her hair and nails. She survived Stafford, who died in 1604.

† *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. iii. p. 52.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 57. De Thou, xci. 20,

he is said to have alluded with unfeeling levity to his own recent dishonour.*

The increased ascendancy of the league was shown in Paris by the revival of active persecution, and the secular arm once again demanded its victims. Two ladies of reputable parentage, daughters of Foucaud, an attorney to the parliament, had been subjected to a long and painful imprisonment in the Châtelet, for refusing to attend mass. Prayers, menaces, promises, and arguments had been employed alike in vain to seduce them from their constancy. The king, before

Jan. 31.

his flight, had personally visited their cells, attended by two leading divines; but the baffled priests were compelled to admit that conversion was hopeless, and that they never encountered opponents better versed in the doctrines of their faith.†

In the following summer, these sisters were dragged to the stake, as obstinate

June 28.

Huguenots. They endured their sufferings with unshrinking fortitude, although the fury of the populace exacted from one of them a severity of punishment beyond the intention of the law, and committed her alive to the flames by cutting the rope, with which she was sentenced to be previously strangled, before it had performed its office.‡

While Guise virtually exercised all the functions of sovereignty in the capital, the king looked with

* He proposed, as a toast, "Nos bons amys les Huguenots," adding, "Nos bons Barricadeurs, ne les oublions pas."—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 119. The editor's note is amusing:—"Le Ligueur et le Huguenot tout est égal; c'est parti contre parti; l'un ne vaut pas mieux que l'autre. Dès que tous deux sont opposés à l'autorité légitimée ce sont les Wighs et les Toris!"

† *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 90.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 110. Du Plessis has an allusion to this savage execution, tom. iv. p. 246. D'Aubigné, who mistakes the name of the parties, calling them *Bureaux*, states that their sufferings excited compassion. "Le peuple les trouvant belles, et un vieillard tout blanc aiant monté sur un boutique pour s'escrier elles vont devant Dieu, le peuple, au lieu de sauter au colet de cet homme, respondit quelques gémissements."—*Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. c. l. p. 216.

idle hope to a long-promised meeting of the states-general at Blois ; and weakly supposed that his lost authority might be recovered by an expedient to which his predecessors had never resorted without some diminution of their otherwise undefined prerogative. No sooner, however, had the states

assembled, than the influence of Guise, as Oct. 16, might be expected, showed its predominance ; the benches of the deputies presented an overwhelming majority of leaguers ; and

Oct. 18. one of their earliest acts was a renewal of the oath binding all parties to an observance of the recent edict of reunion which was registered as a fundamental law of the kingdom.* Indulging in his passion for ecclesiastical pomp, the king, already before the opening of the sitting, had borne part in a solemn procession, and jointly with Guise had received the Eucharist from the hands of the Cardinal of Bourbon. Not content with this single odious mockery of things sacred, once again he invited his great enemy to the altar, and there

Dec. 4. swore upon the body of the Saviour a cordial reconciliation, and an entire oblivion of past differences. " For the future," said this hypocrite, " I shall devote myself to prayer and penitence, and the burthen of state government may devolve on the queen my mother, and on my cousin of Guise."† Whether at the moment in which these words were uttered, Henry had matured the bloody design which he executed ere three more weeks had passed, it is not possible to determine. The general causes of his hatred, and the peril to which he must ever continue exposed so long as Guise survived, are sufficiently plain from the whole tenor of our past narrative ; yet so wavering was his conduct, so uncertain were his principles, that we are far more inclined to

* De Thou, xcii. 12.

† *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 137,

attribute the resolution which he ultimately adopted to a sudden impulse and a capricious burst of passion, than to any long-cherished intention or any discovery of new designs against his crown. Conjecture, indeed, has been largely employed in surmising additional reasons to explain his headlong measures; but no proof has been adduced that Guise was more dangerous or meditated bolder attempts than heretofore. Henry must long since have been sufficiently wearied of his yoke; the cup of bitterness was full even to the brim, and a movement scarcely perceptible to the sight, a breath, a feather, or a grain of dust might occasion its overflowing.*

On the morning of the 23d of December, Dec. 23. Guise obeyed a citation to a council, which had been purposely fixed at a very early hour. To repeated warnings, addressed to him for some days before, that a design was contemplated against his life, he returned but one answer—"They dare not;" nor does he appear to have been awakened to any sense of danger till he found himself in the council-hall, effectually intercepted from all communication with his usual retinue. The doors were secured, and the apartment was filled by numerous members of the royal body-guard, a chosen band of five-and-forty tried and resolute men, reliefs of whom sentinelled the king by day and night without intermission. Some tokens of bodily infirmity are said to have escaped him when awaiting the

* De Thou has placed in the king's mouth an imaginary speech of immoderate length, which he supposes him to address to four of his confidential servants *juxta se sedere jussis*, expounding to them all his many grievances, and showing the necessity of extraordinary measures for their redress. xciii. 11. Cayet notices a report that Henry was strongly influenced by the recollection of a dream occurring some years before, in which he had been worried by the beasts in his menagerie, and that pains had been taken to persuade him that the lion, who then principally tormented him, was the chief of the league. *Chron. Novenn.* tom. i. p. 104. The dream and the consequent destruction of all the wild beasts in the royal menagerie, on January 21, 1583, are recorded in the *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 382.

summons to the royal presence; but these been attributed to other causes than to ment prehension. After tasting a confection which attendants offered as a restorative, he followed usher, who announced that Henry was ready mit him; and as he raised the hangings which rated a short corridor from the king's chamber was struck by a poniard aimed at the throat, suspicion that he might wear a shirt of mail his doublet. The blood gushed from the wound and prevented utterance: he laid his hand impulsively on the hilt of his sword, staggered paces, and heaving one deep and heavy sigh pierced with numberless wounds from the assassins who pressed round him.*

The noise of the struggle alarmed the Cardinal of Guise and the Archbishop of Lyons, who remained in the council-hall; and as they were either to assist the duke or to attempt escape were overpowered, and borne prisoners to another room of the palace. The arrest of many chief leaguers followed; and the king, having secured himself of the completion of the massacre, proceeded to his customary mass.† In cross

* Cayet has given numerous variations in the minor particulars of the murder of Guise, and he adds a remark which, proceeding from a contemporary, may show the hopelessness of attaining certainty in the present. "Tous ceux qui ont écrit comme le Duc de Guyse fu assassiné ont dit divers discours."—*Chron. Novenn.* tom. i. p. 105. Pasquier, Ep. 5, 6, as usual, has some interesting details. See also a "Journal de ce qui est arrivé à Blois jusques à la mort du Duc et du Cardinal de Guise," in the *Preuves de la Sat. Men.* tom. iii. p. 159.

† "Inde Rex ad sacrum more solito in arce audiendum perrexit. Thou, xciii. 15. "Après cette execution le Roy sortit pour se faire dire la messe."—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 150. Maimbourg (p. 105) exposed the falsehood of Davila's narrative, in which a long conference in the palace court with the legate Morosini is represented to have taken place while the king passed to the chapel. Stephano Cosmi, ambassador of Morosini, who published *Mémoire* of his uncle, sufficiently shows that the legate was unable to obtain audience, although he requested it, till the 26th, three days after the murder. The captain of the guard answered him, "Che tenea commissione dal Rè, di non parlare a persona viva, e fu immobile." lib. iii. p. 466. Maimbourg writes to Cardinal Mouton, "non tenetore di continuar chi

the chapel, he stopped at the apartment to which his mother was now confined by illness and infirmity, and triumphantly announced to her the perpetration of a crime, in the conception of which, by a rare chance, she had not been a sharer. Without expressing either surprise or consternation at the unexpected atrocity, Catherine simply asked if he had weighed all the probable results, and taken his precautions accordingly: and upon receiving assurances that the necessary steps had been adopted, she prayed God to prosper him in what he had done. But her sagacious eye must have foreseen the great evils which were about to follow this precipitate violence; and her lofty spirit could ill brook the exclusion from state secrets to which it was manifest she must now submit. Her son had emancipated himself from his pupilage; and in the most important moment of his life, had dared to act, not only without her concurrence, but without her privity. Once only after this interview did she leave her chamber; it was to encounter the reproaches of the Cardinal of Bourbon, at that time sick and under arrest. Overcome with chagrin and exhaustion, she then took to her bed, and expired, on the morning of the 5th of January, in her 71st year, unmourned and disregarded. "No one," says an author, who has collected the particulars of her last moments, "concerned himself either with her illness or her death; and when her eyes were closed, she was not more spoken of than a dead dog."* During thirty years

1589.
Jan. 5.

ibid. Nevertheless, although "adoperò egli ogn' industria per ottenere udienza dal Rè, ma riuscì tutto a vuoto." p. 467. At length, "si trasferò dunque il Cardinale a dì venti sei di Dicembre all' udienza del Rè." p. 484. No evidence can be more conclusive.

* "Elle mourut sans que personne s'empêchât, ni se souciât d'elle, ni en sa maladie, ni en sa mort, non plus que de la personne la plus contemptible de Roiaume. Après sa mort on ne parla non plus d'elle que d'une chevre morte."—*Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. iii. p. 174. "Morte tantæ feminae, quæ res nostras semper miscuerat, nec quiesquam multum lætari nec indolere visus est."—*De Thou*, xciv. 3.

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past, she had been constructing a mausoleum, for the king her husband, for herself, and for her children, in three costly chapels attached to the cathedral at St. Denis; and the sums lavished upon their erection are compared by Pasquier to the expenditure on similar depositories by the Kings of Egypt. Yet even these idle hopes of posthumous distinction were frustrated. The town of Blois was unable to furnish drugs and spices for her embalmment; and necessity compelled a hasty interment by night in a simple grave, in an obscure corner of the church, such as would have been allotted for the meanest individual.*

The fate of the Cardinal of Guise was ^{1588.} not decided till the day after the murder Dec. 24. of his brother; and even when the king had resolved upon his death, it was no easy task to find instruments by which the sentence could be executed. The forty-five, although reeking from the assassination of the duke, refused to imbue their hands in priestly blood, and shrank, not from actual homicide, but from imaginary sacrilege. Four mercenaries, of a lower grade, were bribed highly to the deed; and the cardinal, summoned from the apartment in which he was confined, as if to attend the king, was butchered by their halberds in a dark adjoining corridor. In order to prevent any seditious movement which might be excited by a public funeral of the deceased brothers, and by the dangerous exhibition which it was foreseen the leaguers would make of their relics, if they obtained possession of them, the bodies were consumed by quick-lime at night, in the court of the palace.†

* Pasquier, liv. xlii. Ep. 8.

† De Thou xciii. 17. Bentivoglio has given a most vivid description of the apartments in the castle of Blois which were the scenes of these tragic acts. "Mi feci condurre, alle camere dell' appartamento Regio, dove fù amazzato il Duca di Guisa a gli Stati Generali d'Henrico terzo. Di quà entrò; (mi dicevano) quà hebbe il primo colpo; quà sfodrò mezza la spada; quà lo finirono; e quà in desparte stava nascosta il Rè stesso

Instead of vigorously pursuing the blow which he had thus ventured to strike, and marching at once on Paris, to justify himself by arms and to destroy the faction which he had stunned, the king relapsed into his former indolence, and contented himself by publishing apologies and manifestoes from the palace at Blois. The fury excited in the capital on the arrival of the intelligence of Guise's death was unbounded, and exhibited itself in shapes the most fantastical. Prayer and fasting four times a week, in some instances throughout the entire week, were generally enjoined by the priests; all festive meetings were prohibited; the celebration of marriage was suspended;* and processions hourly thronged the churches, either in honour of the memory of the deceased, or in execration of the "accursed tyrant"† by whom "the martyrs" had perished. We read of a procession of all the children in Paris, male and female, from the cemetery of the Innocents to the church Jan. 10. of St. Genevieve. They are affirmed to have been nearly 100,000 in number;‡ all of them bore lighted

a vederlo morire. Più grande fù anche l'horrore che mi cagionò il luogo dove il dì appresso fù crudelmente ammazzato a colpi d'alabarde il Cardinal suo fratello." He afterward saw the chamber in which the Cardinal of Bourbon was imprisoned, and that also in which Catherine of Medici died; "e considerai con grand' attenzione quelle animate mura che spirano al vivo le miserie della Corone en mezzo all' apparenti loro adorate felicità."—*Lettere*, p. 153.

* *Journal des choses advenues a Paris depuis le 23 Dec. 1588, jusq' au dernier jour d'Avril, 1589.* Printed in the *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 466.

† *Ce maudit tyran* is the style by which Henry is perpetually mentioned. Numerous vituperative anagrams were formed out of *Henri de Valois*, by a convenient omission or addition of letters. Among them are mentioned *O crudelis Hyæna*; *Vilain Herode*; *Dehors le vilain*.—*Sat. Menip.* tom. ii. p. 347.

‡ *Journal ut sup.* p. 471. The number must be greatly exaggerated, for the entire population of the capital at the time is estimated by Perefine at not more than 300,000 souls.—P. 154. But the journalist is not remarkable for accuracy: in his next week's entry, when noticing an announcement which is evidently meant to be that of the death of Catherine, he tells us that the queen consort is dead, having been poisoned by the *maudit tyran*, in order that he may enter into a new marriage, either

tapers, which, on their arrival at the church porch, they threw on the ground and trampled under foot, crying, with a loud voice, "God grant that in a short time the race of Valois may be thus entirely extinguished!"* On other occasions many hundred persons of all ages and both sexes paraded the streets and resorted to the churches, in a state which we should be justified in interpreting entire nakedness, but for certain incidental qualifying expressions;† and these gross and indecent spectacles, which were exhibited many times during the carnival, are extolled as devout substitutes for the customary masquerades and extravagances of that season of licensed folly. The Duchess of Guise

Feb. 17. was delivered of a posthumous son a month after his father's assassination, and the baptism of this infant was celebrated with a strange medley of grief and festivity. The palace of Guise and the church of St. Jean-en-Grève, in which the sacrament was administered, were hung with black; all the civic authorities attended in mourning-garb; and when the child had received his name, drums, trumpets, cornets, and hautboys sounded an alarm, and amid the roar of cannons, "in testimony of great rejoicing," the company adjourned to a collation in the Hôtel de Ville.‡

The Duke of Aumâle was declared governor of the city; and the open rebellion upon which Paris had decided received a formal sanction from a

with Elizabeth of England or with the sister of the King of Navarre p. 473.

* *Abrégé de l'Hist. de Henri III. par Machon.—Journal de Henri III tom. ii. p. 567.*

† "Tant fils que filles, hommes que femmes, qui sont tous nus en obmuse, tellement que on ne vit jamais si belle chose, Dieu merci."—*Journal ut sup.* p. 491. "Il y avoit plus de mille personnes, tant fils, filles hommes que femmes, tous nuds..... Et quelques uns (des Religieux tout nuds, comme étoit le Curé nommé Maître François Pigenat, deques on fait plus d'estat que d'aucun autre qui étoit tout nud, et n'avoit qu'un guilbe de toile blanche sur lui."—*Id.* p. 505

‡ *Id.* p. 493, &c.

decree of the Sorbonne. The assembled divines replied to two questions which their fellow-citizens had proposed; first, that the people of France were absolved from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance to Henry; secondly, that they might lawfully and with a safe conscience take arms, form unions, and collect money in support of the Catholic, Apostolical, and Romish religion against the nefarious designs of the king and his adherents, who had violated public faith to the prejudice of the said religion, of the edict of union, and of the national liberty of the three estates of the kingdom.*

The pulpit, as on most former occasions, was the chief vehicle by which passionate addresses found circulation among the populace; and no charges appear to have been thought too absurd or too unmeasured for production. Unhappily, the vices of Henry, even if unexaggerated, might have furnished a prolific theme for reprehension to a Christian preacher; but the zeal of his enemies connected him with guilt which exists only in imagination. The minions were affirmed to have introduced him to a supernatural commerce with sorcerers and devils; D'Epernon, if not himself an incarnate fiend, the familiar of his master, was at best but an inveterate magician; and in a coffer belonging to him, which had fallen into the possession of the leaguers,

* *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 170. De Thou, xciv. 8. The latter denies the assertion made in the printed decree itself, that it was passed unanimously. It was opposed by some of the elder members of the faculty, and by the dean, Jean Faber, as "perniciosus, in præsens temerarius, et apud posteros infamiae plenus."

Concerning a criminal process said to have been instituted by the Dukes of Guise before the parliament against the king, the reader may turn to De Thou, xciv. 10, 13, and to the "*Remarques sur la Satyre Menippée*," tom. iii. p. 293, 318. Bayle has collected some curious matters on this point under *Henri de Guise*, Rem. i. But after the pointed declaration of Cayet, it must be doubtful whether any reliance can be placed upon the printed document which Bayle has cited. "Plu-sieurs ont tenus, que ceste Requeste, quoy qu'elle ait esté imprimée, n'avoit jamais esté présentée; non plus que beaucoup d'autres choses qui ne furent pour lors imprimées à Paris que pour entretenir le Peuple au Party de l'Union."—*Chron. Novenn.* tom. i. p. 141.

certain parchments were said to have been found, impressed with "Hebrew, Chaldee, and numerous unknown characters;" circles surrounded by cabalistic figures; drugs, unguents, mirrors, and peeled wands which had every appearance of having been formed from the mystic hazel. All this machinery of forbidden science was committed to the flames, with that horror which it could not fail to inspire;* but two damning evidences of similar criminality in the king himself were preserved for public exhibition. The description of these abominations deserves to be given in the very words of the original. "At the Bois de Vincennes" (a convent of Minimes which the king had founded, and which he was accustomed to frequent under pretext of devotion) "have recently been discovered two silver-gilt satyrs, about four inches in height, each holding in his left hand a massive club, upon which he rests. In their right hands they bear a vase of pure and transparent crystal, and they are fixed on a gilt circular base, supported by four feet. In these vases were inserted drugs, the names and qualities of which are unknown, intended for oblations; and what is most detestable, these idols were placed in front of a golden crucifix, enchased in which is a fragment of the true cross. The *Politiques* maintained that these sculptures were candelabra; but this explanation deserves little credit, for they had no points on which tapers could have been fixed."†

The preacher, who during his sermon drew from beneath his gown these innocent *Casselettes*, as vouchers of Henry's addiction to demon-worship,‡ did not scruple to inculcate regicide as a virtue. When a leaguer, whose conscience was less seared

* De Thou, xciv. 13. *Les Sorcelleries de Henri de Valois*, in the *Journal de Henri III.* tom. iii. p. 373.

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ His name was Linceastre, or Guincestre.—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 176.

than that of his fiery teacher, excused his absence from communion during the holy week, on a plea of the inability which he felt to cleanse his heart from a desire of vengeance against the king, the pastor rebuked him for unnecessary squeamishness. "I myself," he continued, "(and in this declaration I speak the sentiments of my whole order) who daily consecrate the body of our Lord, would not hesitate to stab the tyrant before the altar, even while I was holding that precious body in my hands."* Among the auditors who shuddered at the denouncement of Henry's sorcery, many formed waxen images, which, consecrated at numerous masses and adjured by necromantic forms, they afterward pricked to the heart; in the hope that the joint efficacy of devotion and diabolism might work the death of the king, whom these puppets were intended to represent.†

Nor was it in Paris only that Henry's authority was rejected; the flame of rebellion spread rapidly through the kingdom; Orleans, the most important city next to the capital, very early declared itself for the leaguers. The greater part of Normandy and Champagne, and the whole of Burgundy, espoused the same cause, as did Bretagne also, after some hesitation. Lyons expelled the royal governor; Toulouse was stained with the blood of her chief magistrates Duffis and Durante; the latter an officer venerable alike for piety, learning, and benevolence, the single drawback upon whose numerous virtues appears to have been an imprudent deference to the very rabble by whom in the end he was torn in pieces.‡ The Duke of Mayenne was received at Paris with transports of enthu-

Feb. 10.

* *Id. ibid.* p. 98.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 172.

‡ *Olim plebi gratus, tunc repenti eidem, quod morigerari nollet, summè invisus.*—De Thou, xcvi. 1. How often must this lesson be repeated before it can obtain general credence! The whole of the above-cited chapter deserves to be studied for its practical wisdom.

siasm ; and a council of Forty,* created by the *Seize*, invested him with the anomalous title of *Lieutenant of the State and Crown of France*.† The seal under which the proceedings of this new executive were to be verified bore an empty throne as its device, and the *seal of the Kingdom of France* as its legend, but Mayenne had too much sagacity not to perceive that it was the intention of this body to render him a mere tool in the hands of that party whose ultimate goal was a republic. With no small dexterity he largely augmented their number by the admission of his own immediate friends and adherents ; and the assembly, thus newly modelled, received the name of the *General Council of the League*.‡

Abandoned on every hand, with scarcely sufficient troops to mount guard about his person, and with a miserable suite of fugitive civilians as his court, the king retired to Tours ; and his single chance of safety appeared to rest on negotiation with the persecuted Huguenots. A political assembly of the Reformed had been held at La Rochelle simultaneously with the meeting of the states-general at Blois. Its proceedings, relating to numerous points of internal discipline upon which it is unnecessary that we should stop,§ terminated on the 17th of

* Their names may be found in the *Remarques Sur la Sat. Menip.* tom. ii. p. 336.

† The absurdity of this title, which was invented by the President Brisson, is well exposed in the Speech of M. d'Aubray, in the *Sat. Men.* tom. i. p. 150 :—" Lieutenant de l'Estat et Couronne est un titre inodé et estrange, qui a trop longue queue, comme une chimere contre Nature qui fait peur aux petits enfans. Quiconque est Lieutenant, est Lieutenant d'un autre, duquel il tient le lieu, qui ne peut faire sa fonction à cause de son absence ou autre empeschement ; et Lieutenant est Lieutenant d'un autre homme ; mais de dire qu'un homme soit Lieutenant d'une chose inanimée, comme l'Estat ou la Couronne d'un Roy, c'est chose absurde, et qui ne se peut soutenir."

‡ *Le Conseil General de l'Union*.—De Thou, xciv. 12. The names of the original Forty, and some account of their constitution, may be found in the second volume of the *Satyre Menippée*, p. 336.

§ The heads are given by De Thou, xcii. 20, and a *Proposition du Roy de Navarre en l'Assemblée tenue à la Rochelle* may be found in Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 274. Du Plessis anticipated much good from this meeting. It is undertaken, he says, " pour la resolution de tous affaires

December; and the feelings awakened a few days afterward, among the chief Huguenots, by the announcement of Guise's murder, may best be learned from many passages in Du Plessis' correspondence:—"Sire," he writes to his royal master, immediately on receiving the news, "we have to praise God; his judgments are great, and the grace which he has vouchsafed to us is not small in thus avenging you on your enemies, without any defilement of your own hands. The Church will publicly acknowledge this act of Providence, but with all requisite moderation, rather in humility than in rejoicing."* In a similar strain, when writing a few days afterward to Beza, he congratulates him "that in this great blow the Huguenots had not participated either in thought or deed."† "That for which I consider our prince to be most bound to praise God," he states to another friend, "is, that through God's means his enemies are removed, without stain either to his hands or to his conscience."‡ But to no one did Du Plessis more fully express himself on this subject than to La Nouë:—"By this blow the wicked hath fallen into the pit which he himself had dug for us, and without our having spread any snare for him. God's blessing is great, by which we are disencumbered from our enemies; but it is far greater by having been dispensed in such a manner that our passions have not been employed as instruments; that our hands have not been polluted with blood, our hearts with vengeance, nor our consciences with perfidy."§

tant forains que domestiques;" and he foretels that "il s'y consolidera beaucoup de playes publiques, beaucoup de particulieres," tom. iv. p. 271. He appears to have been well satisfied also with the results. "Nostre assemblée s'est passée fort doucement; beaucoup de bonnes choses y ont esté résolues," à M. de Puijolz, Dec. 29, tom. iv. p. 283; and he employs much the same language to Beza, p. 284, and to Roche-Chandieu, p. 293.

* Dec. 26, tom. iv. p. 277.

† "Nous n'y avons trempé ni l'ame ni la main."—*Ibid.*

‡ à M. de Reaux. *Ibid.* p. 285.

§ *Ibid.* p. 291.

It may be wished, perhaps—assuredly it *must* be wished—by all who feel the influence of well regulated piety, that this foul murder had been ascribed less immediately to the agency of Providence than it appears to be in some of the above expressions ; we say *appears*, because the mistake, after all, is more verbal than real. In his vivid thankfulness that his friends are innocent of the deed of blood, Du Plessis no doubt sufficiently conveys his full and just appreciation of its atrocious guilt ; and it is only by that process which the logicians term an *enthymème*, that he seemingly confounds a crime which it is manifest he abhors in itself, with the ultimate good which he foresees will be deduced from it by the sovereignty of infinite wisdom. When we call to mind the bitterness of persecution which the Huguenot church had endured from two generations of the Guises, the tone which Du Plessis has adopted falls upon the ear in very grateful contrast with the yell of savage triumph by which the partisans of the opposite faction celebrated the St. Bartholomew. The miserable distraction of his own family at this period offers ample testimony of the domestic wretchedness which the Reformed underwent during these unnatural wars. “ My brother and his wife,” he writes to a friend, “ are chased from home, and their house is occupied by a leaguer ; my mother has taken refuge at Dieppe ; my mother-in-law has been cruelly pillaged in Brie ; and her son has lost his entire property on the capture of Melun.”* To speak with mildness of the fate of enemies by whom calamities such as these were occasioned is no slight triumph of the spirit of charity.

The Huguenot arms had recently been successful in Poitou and Saintonge, and the strong town of Niorte was among their latest acquisitions ; but the victories of Henry of Navarre were checked by a

* March 12, 1589, tom. iv. p. 341.

dangerous illness which attacked him in an obscure village, remote from medical assistance. The disorder was pleurisy, and the promptness and decision of Du Plessis, who on his own judgment had recourse to immediate and copious blood-letting, saved the royal patient in his extremity.* By the same minister also, in conjunction with April 23. Sully, was prepared a treaty, which established a truce between the two kings for a year, and engaged the Huguenots as confederates against the Duke of Mayenne. Its provisions were few and simple. The town of Saumur was delivered into the hands of Navarre, in order to secure his passage over the Loire; one town in every province which he might occupy was reserved to him as a military depôt; in those places, in his camp, and in his court, the Reformed were allowed to celebrate free and public worship; and in other parts of the kingdom they were to remain unmolested.† In no portion of his whole eventful history was courage of a higher moral standard displayed by the King of Navarre than during this negotiation. While the terms were still in discussion, Henry III. refused to communicate otherwise than verbally, lest written documents should be intercepted by the nuncio Morosini, or by the Duke de Nevers. Some distrust was naturally excited in Navarre by this backwardness; and he asked repeatedly, in an anxious tone, and rubbing his forehead, if Sully believed in the king's good faith. On receiving the wished for assurance, he unhesitatingly ordered him to return; "and you," he continued, "shall bear letters from me, for I am afraid neither of Morosini nor of Nevers."‡

* Tom. iv. p. 810.

† *Ibid.* p. 351. See also a manifesto by the King of Navarre, April 21, *ibid.* p. 356.

‡ Sully, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 221, 223. Perhaps both truth and nature would be gainers by a less dignified version than that given above of the words *se grattant la tête*.

When an interview between the two kings was proposed as a consolidation of this new alliance, it was but natural that the Huguenots should cast a fearful retrospect upon the past; and the review presented little in the character of Henry III. which could justify confidence in his sincerity. Their misgivings were silenced by the unshrinking heroism of their master. On his route to Plessis-lez-Tours, the spot at which the meeting was appointed, he halted his little troop of attendants near a mill, and asked each gentleman in turn his opinion of the course in which he was then engaged. Sully, who was among them, by no means dissembled the peril; adding, that he thought it was an occasion on which, after all due precaution had been taken, something was to be trusted to fortune. A few moments' reflection sufficed for Henry, who terminated the conversation by pressing his horse onward, and commanding his retinue to follow: "Come, come, my friends," he said, "my resolution is taken, and we must not think about it any longer."* The two kings

April 30. exchanged salutations in the park at Plessis; and so great was the throng that they were obliged to remain for many minutes within a few paces of each other before they could move closely enough to embrace. "*Courage, Monseigneur,*" were among Navarre's first words, "two Henries are worth more than one Carolus!"† After offering and receiving many expressions of friendship, Na-

* *Id. ibid.* p. 226.

† Matthieu, tom. i. p. 752. It is scarcely necessary to offer an explanation of this *mot*, which alludes to the coinage of France, and to Charles the name of the Duke of Mayenne. Pierre de l'Etoile refers the speech to another occasion, and assigns it to Henry III.; who, on his junction with Navarre, after Tours had been attacked, being reluctant to pursue the Duke of Mayenne, said it was unreasonable, *hasarder un double Henri contre un Carolus*; upon which the annotator observes, that the *Henri* was a piece of gold, the *Carolus* one of copper, tom. ii. p. 193. It is worthy of remark how greatly the words are changed in character according to the lips from which they are made to proceed: when spoken by Navarre, they are an encouragement to action; when transferred to Henry III. they are an excuse for remaining inert.

varre recrossed the Loire, and fulfilled the promise which the jealous apprehensions of his followers had extorted, that he would not trust himself during the night in the entire power of his recent enemy. On the following morning (animated by a spirit similar to that by which Francis I. at once established intimate cordiality with his brother monarch in the memorable *Champ de Drap d'Or*), Navarre, attended by a single page, presented himself at the quarters of Henry III. so early as to assist at his levée.* A token of confidence thus frank and unreserved was wholly irresistible; two days were spent in discussing the plan of the approaching campaign; and Navarre then retired to hasten the advance of his troops, and to dispel any reluctance which they might still feel to co-operate with the Romanists. On the evening after his first interview, he wrote to Du Plessis, "The ice is at last broken, not without many warnings that if I hazarded the conference I was no better than a dead man. I crossed the river, however, after having commended myself to God, who in his goodness hath not only preserved me, but has occasioned an appearance of extreme joy on the part of the king, and of unparalleled enthusiasm on that of the people. There were shouts of *Vivent les Roys*, which gladdened my heart and a thousand petty incidents well deserving note. Send on my baggage, and order the whole army to advance."† The reply of Du Plessis affords, in a few words, the fittest commentary on Henry's magnanimity—"Sire, you have done that which you ought to have done, but which no one ought to have counselled you to do."‡

* Prefixe, p. 106. De Thou, xciv. 19.

† Avril 30, 1589. *Du Fauxbourg de Tours où est le quartier de nostre armée.*—Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 355.

‡ *Id.* tom. i. p. 175.

CHAPTER XVII.

Attack on Tours—Battle of Senlis—Siege of Paris—Excommunication of Henry III.—Fanaticism of Jacques Clement—Encouraged by the Leaguers—He assassinates Henry III.—First Steps of Henry IV. on his Accession—The Siege of Paris raised—The Cardinal of Bourbon proclaimed Charles X.—Battle of Arques—Capture of the Fauxbourg of Paris—Views of the King of Spain—Conduct of the Legato—Violent Decree of the Sorbonne—Battle of Yvry—Blockade of Paris—Death of the Cardinal of Bourbon—Famine in Paris—Military Procession of the Clergy—The Prince of Parma relieves Paris—His subsequent Retreat—Rise of the Tiers-Parti—Council at Mantes—Death of La Nouë—Escape of the Duke of Guise—Intrigues of the Seize—Murder of the President Brisson and two Counsellors avenged by the Duke of Mayenne—Siege of Rouen—Negotiation of Du Plessis with Queen Elizabeth.

DURING Navarre's absence, the Duke of Mayenne thought to surprise the king in Tours, and nearly

May 8. succeeded in his design.* A sharp action was continued during a whole day, much to the disadvantage of the royalists, and Henry's safety depended upon the maintenance of a bridge which separated the city from its suburbs, at that time in possession of the Leaguers. The enemy was at length repulsed by the seasonable arrival of a reinforcement of Huguenots ; but De Thou, who was present during the combat, portrays in a lively manner the great hazard and sufferings endured by the wretched inhabitants of the Fauxbourg from which the attack commenced. While revelling in the fierce and fiendish license of successful war, the brutal soldiery of the League defended their enormities by affirming that every act was venial in

* A martyrdom occurred in Paris two days before this attack : " fut brûlée toute vive en Grève une pauvre femme Huguenotte qui ne voulut jamais se dedire."—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 190.

those who fought for their religion, and who were supported by the favour of the pope.*

In another quarter, at Senlis, the Leaguers under Aumâle were totally defeated, chiefly by the great skill of the veteran La Nouë, who allured enemies much superior in force to a rash attack, in which they were overwhelmed by masked batteries. Besides the capture of numerous prisoners, nearly 2000 dead were left upon the field,† and the flight of those who escaped was so rapid as to furnish material for a standing jest; "the long spurs of the Leaguers at Senlis," becoming almost a proverb.‡ Navarre, however, at once perceived that the issue of the war must depend, not upon detached successes, however brilliant, in the provinces, but upon the possession of the capital. The generous self-devotion of Nicolas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy, had procured, by the sacrifice of his entire private fortune, the services of 12,000 Swiss, now gathered under the banners of Henry III.; and the confederate army, thus increased to more than 40,000 well-appointed men, invested Paris towards the close of

* "Cuncta permissa ac condonata sibi pro Religione certantibus, et Pontificis gratiâ fretis." xcv. 20. The acts thus authorized, as we learn from the context, were robbery, sacrilege, and violation in its most hideous forms, before the eyes of parents and of husbands. Sully also was present at the attack on Tours, which he describes, tom. i. liv. iiii. p. 228.

† Amirault, p. 342. De Thou, xcv. 24.

‡ The fifth compartment in the hall in which the states assembled at Paris is supposed, in the *Satyre Menippée*, to have been hung with tapestry representing the battle of Senlis, "où M. d'Aumâle fut Connestable, et luy estoient baillez les esperons aisez el zelez." tom. i. p. 20. This tapestry was bordered with some stanzas, of which the following is the parent of a well-known English couplet:

"Souvent celui qui demeure
Est cause de son meschef;
Celui qui fuit de bonne heure
Peut combattre de rechef."

Spurs, it seems, shaped like a heron's beak, and called *Esperons Liguez ou Zelez*, had been invented not long before the battle. *Remarques sur la Sat. Men.* tom. ii. p. 99. When the herald is marshalling the deputies, he addresses Aumâle, *M. d'Aumâle, mettez vous a costé du Reverendissimus* (the Cardinal Pellevé) *et gardez de deschirer sa chape avec vos grands esperons.* tom. i. p. 28.

July. Notwithstanding the precautions which Mayenne had adopted, little hope could be entertained of any protracted resistance. The garrison was insufficient for the great extent of ramparts which required defence; few regular troops were under his command; and the half-trained and ill-disciplined civic bands which had fled from Senlis, fierce, headstrong, and blood-thirsty as they were at the outbreak of a sedition, were far from being adapted to afford confidence to their general during that slow process of regular warfare, which, above all others, puts military virtues to the severest test.

This great peril of the Leaguers was averted for a season, by one of those unexpected strokes of fortune which baffle calculation. We have hitherto omitted to speak of the effect produced in the papal court by the announcement of the events at Blois; and much time, indeed, elapsed before the Vatican appears to have determined on its final measures. The blood of a cardinal was not lightly to be expiated; nevertheless the politic Sixtus might perhaps have been tempted to relax his severity, when he had once assured himself that an increase of power would follow the absolution of the penitent homicide, if he had not been yet further offended by the unnatural alliance concluded with heretics already under the pontifical ban. No sooner had he

May 5. learned the confederation with the Huguenots, than he issued a fierce monition, demanding the freedom of the Cardinal of Bourbon and of the Archbishop of Lyons, within ten days. In default of compliance with this mandate, Henry was declared subject to ecclesiastical censures, especially to those contained in the bull, *In Cænâ Domini*, of which, unless in the very article of death, no one except the pope himself could grant remission. Lastly, the king was cited to a personal appearance at Rome at the expiration of sixty days.

This denouncement of papal wrath was, perhaps,

the single drop required to swell to the very spring-tide of phrensy the fanaticism of a youthful zealot who undertook to despatch the king. Jacques Clement, a Dominican of Sens, had lent a greedy ear to the general execrations which proclaimed Henry de Valois to be an impious and a Heaven-abandoned tyrant, who, after the model of Elizabeth of England, had resolved upon the suppression of the monastic orders.* While brooding over these dark imaginations in the solitude of his cell, Clement believed himself to be the object of a beatific vision, in which an angel presented him with a naked sword, and encouraged him to attain the crown of martyrdom, by using it for the deliverance of his church and country.† His prior, to whom he is said to have revealed this dream, is described to have been a man of profound knowledge and of extensive acquaintance with Scripture.‡ In such knowledge as, by the dexterous use of sophistry, can render the plainest truths entangled, and in such acquaintance with Holy Writ as can cite its words to justify the widest deviation from its spirit, it is manifest, if the evidence upon which he was afterward convicted be true, that Father Bourgoing was indeed no mean proficient. He is said to have warned his penitent that God had strictly forbidden all murder; but to have added that, since the king was a man cut off and separated from the Church, the author of execrable tyrannies, and the perpetual scourge of France, he could not but think that any one who should put him to death would commit a holy and commendable act. Thus was it, he exclaimed, that Holofernes was righteously smitten by

* De Thou, xcvi. 8.

† "Discours veritable de l'estrange et subite mort de Henry de Valois, advenue par permission divine et par un Religieux de l'Ordre des Jacobins." First printed in 1589, reprinted in the *Preuves de La Satyre Menippée*, tom. iii. p. 345.

‡ "Homme fort scientifique et bien versé en la Sainte Escriture."—*Id.* p. 346.

Judith; and so was Israel delivered from the hand of a tyrant, when Pharaoh was swallowed up by the returning waves of the Red Sea. To the chosen instrument of such a deed eternal happiness might be promised, if he were to perish during its execution (a circumstance not unlikely to occur); provided he felt assured in conscience that he was actuated by a pure and honest zeal, with which was mingled no evil and corrupt affection, no defilement of avarice or self-interest, no common and ordinary motive.

Thus much of Jacques Clement's story is founded upon legal evidence. The fury of party affirmed that there were others, of loftier station than Bourgoing, to whom he intrusted his design; and that hopes less elevated, although not less impassioned, than those of religious zeal prompted him eventually to its commission. His age was three-and-twenty; his habits were libertine; the personal beauty of the Duchess of Montpensier was still most attractive;* and it has been said that she considered that no promise, no compliance on her part, could be too high a price for the prospect of revenge upon one by whom she herself had been exposed to contumely which it could not be expected a woman should ever forgive; and who had imbued his hands also in the blood of two of her brothers.† What were Clement's real motives, or by whose secret agency he was assisted, cannot now be unravelled; but he had obtained a letter of credence to the king, purporting to

* Notwithstanding her lameness, which is a frequent subject of contemporary lampoon. On one of the pieces of tapestry which decorated the hall of the states-general described in the *Satyre Menippée*, she is represented among Phaëton's sisters, "dont l'une estoitrompue une hanche en courant pour secourir son frere." tom. i. p. 17. See also *Les Aventures du Baron de Fœnesté*, liv. iv. c. xiii.

† De Thou, xcvi. 8. mentions this report, but evidently without attaching credit to it. The very improbable cause of the inextinguishable personal hatred cherished by the Duchess of Montpensier against Henry III. may be found in the *Remarques sur La Sat. Men.* tom. ii. p. 330. The suspected intimacy of the duchess with her nephew, the Duke of Guise, is sarcastically noticed by the herald who arranges the order of the sittings of the states-general in the *Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 27.

be written by the President Harlai, at that time confined in the Bastile; and feigning an important mission from that officer and his fellow-prisoners, he sought and obtained an audience.

The particulars of this fatal interview are minutely detailed in a letter written by M. de la Guesle,* the procureur-general of the parliament, who introduced the assassin to the royal presence. On the previous night, De la Guesle, having accidentally learned that Clement wished to convey intelligence to the king, gave him lodgings in his own quarters at St. Cloud; the answers which the guest returned to various questions proposed were sufficiently plausible to confirm full belief in the truth of his general statement; and the easiness with which he carried himself among the servants to whom he was committed for entertainment removed, if it had ever crossed their thoughts, all suspicion of evil design. He supped gayly, using his own knife, an implement ordinarily carried by monks, and therefore not exciting attention.† Even when one of the domestics noticed a report that six brothers of his order had vowed to assassinate the king, Clement preserved an unmoved countenance, and replied, in an indifferent tone, that good and bad men were everywhere mixed together. He slept so peaceably and soundly that it was necessary to wake him on the following morning, when he was to accom-

Aug. 1.

pany De la Guesle to court; and on arriving at the king's residence, he conversed freely with the attendants in waiting till it was announced that he might enter the cabinet. The hour was early, scarcely eight o'clock; and Henry, who was in deshabille, deceived by the close resemblance to Harlai's writing in the letter which had been presented to him, desired the monk to come nearer, in order

* *Ap. Journal de Henri III. tom. ii. p. 220.*

† "Taillant ses morceaux du fineste couteau, meuble ordinaire de tels elusaux."—*Ibid.* p. 224.

that he might hear his report. Clement replied that what he had to say required his majesty's private ear; and stooping forward as the king motioned that the attendants should draw off, he plunged a knife concealed in his sleeve into the lower part of the king's belly. "Ha! wretch, what have I done to you that you should thus murder me?" was the king's exclamation, as he withdrew the bloody knife from his bowels, and dashed it in the assassin's face. De la Guesle, rushing up at the moment, passed his sword to the hilt through Clement's body; and the guards of the chamber, not reflecting that confession would be important, immediately despatched him with their halberds.

The surgeons at first pronounced that the king's wound did not present any dangerous symptom, and Henry himself wrote to Du Plessis, expressing full confidence of speedy recovery.* Navarre was engaged in inspecting the preparations for the siege of Paris, when a gentleman whispered the intelligence in his ear: he rode instantly at full speed to St. Cloud; and, after a brief interview, retired to his own quarters at Meudon. While Sully, however, was preparing for his evening repast, he was summoned by a message, "that the King of Navarre, perhaps the King of France, required his immediate presence." An express had arrived, notifying that Henry was in extremity. It was considerably past midnight when the party returned to St. Cloud; and as they entered the château, the Scottish guard announced the important fact of the king's death,† by tendering their homage to Henry IV. His measures

* "Dieu—me l'a conservée par sa grace—faisant glisser le cousteau de façon que ce ne sera rien, s'il lui plait, et que dans peu de jours il me donnera ma santé première."—Du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 350.

† A certificate of the devout end of Henry III., signed by the grand prior, the Duke d'Epemon, Biron, Bellegarde, D'O., and other personages of quality in attendance on his death-bed, is printed in the *Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 214. He died at about two o'clock on the morning of the 2d of August.

at this trying moment were distinguished by wisdom, promptitude, and dignity. No step demanded by the unexpected circumstances appears to have been either forgotten or trodden carelessly; and he could scarcely have exhibited greater coolness of judgment and fuller self-possession, if (slightly to vary one of Du Plessis' phrases) he had glided into the throne in the ordinary course of succession, instead of having a crown cast suddenly, as it were, on his head.*

On the announcement of the late king's death, the vigilance and activity of De Sancy at once secured the continued fidelity of the Swiss mercenaries to Henry IV.† The Maréchal de Biron declared himself, unconditionally, in his favour; and the chief nobility in the royal army, with few exceptions, swore allegiance, on his agreement to terms which are scarcely to be thought unreasonable. He promised that within six months he would submit to be "instructed" by Romanist divines—a measure which he had often before spontaneously proposed; that in the mean time he would not bestow any public charge upon a Huguenot; and that he would permit his new adherents to send a deputation to the pope explanatory of the motives of their present conduct. One other proposal, that he should prohibit the exercise of the Reformed religion, was rejected by him with firmness. The most important dissentient was D'Epernon, who notified his intention of withdrawing to his government of Saintonge. Principally owing to the secession of his numerous followers, the army became too weak to continue the siege of Paris; and Henry, after protecting Champagne and Picardy by detachments, withdrew with the main body into Normandy, in order to await a promised aid from England. The obse-

August 8.

* "La couronne lui est plutôt tombée sur la teste qu'eschue paisiblement."—Tom. iv. p. 402.

† De Thou, xvii. 3.

quies of the late king, which, on account of the occupation of St. Denis by the Leaguers, were to be performed at Compeigne, afforded an honourable pretext for this necessary abandonment of the capital.

During this most eventful period, Du Plessis was confined by illness at Saumur; but his zeal would not permit him to be inactive, and the advice which he proffered, from his bed of pain,* was well calculated to advance his master's interests. He recommended a declaration which might quiet the alarm of the Romanists by an assurance that there was no design to innovate; and as a first boon to the Huguenots (well knowing the importance attached to words) he urged the immediate substitution, in all public documents, of "the Religion which we call, or which is called, Reformed,"† instead of "the pretended Reformed Religion." His precautions seem to have been mainly directed against any unseasonable ebullition of triumph on the part of the Huguenots; he advised that the governors of all towns in which the Reformed worship was allowed should be instructed more than ever to remember moderation both in word and deed; to repress all popular insolence, and to cultivate amity and union with the Romanists, to the avoidance of scandal. For this purpose, he recommended that the existing ordinances enjoining reverence to churches, relics, and Divine service should be observed with more than usual exactness; and he thought it would not be impolitic even to restore the mass at Niort, and at other places, in which its use had been suspended. The course which he advised towards Rome was that of quiet intimidation; that it should be represented to

* "Au moins que mon miserable lit ne vous soit point inutile," he writes on the 10th of August, tom. iv. p. 390, probably when sending the *Mémoire* (p. 393), which we have noticed in the text.

† "La Religion que nous disons Reformée, ou dictée Reformée." tom. iv. p. 394. This distinction was a source of long-continued bickering.

the Vatican, not by despatches, but by word of mouth, through fitting agents, that it might be dangerous to irritate and drive to despair by bulls and monitions those whom gentler measures might perhaps conciliate; that Henry VIII. had been thus totally alienated by violence; that kings chafe under restraint; and that there were means of a more peaceful nature by which schisms might be extinguished.

In writing to Turenne, the same wise and liberal statesman showed the necessity that every hand should be active in converting the present crown of thorns into a crown of fleurs-de-lis.* He urged the king to suppose himself dressed in a new doublet, which would sit tightly perhaps at first, but which would become easier after a few days' wearing;† and he laid down a golden rule for the general regulation of his conduct, that he should do his utmost to gain the Catholics without losing the Huguenots.‡ The latter, indeed, were already beginning to express dissatisfaction; and the captiousness of their temper may be inferred from one leading head of complaint. Was it not monstrous, they said, that in the first official document of a Reformed reign, words so altogether popish as "whom God absolve"§ should be admitted after the name of the deceased king? It need not be remarked, that the words are a mere form, sanctioned by prescription; and it would be difficult to show that they are more objectionable (although the objection is of a different nature) than "of pious, happy, and glorious memory," now indiscriminately attached to deceased Protestant royalty. So far did discontent among the Huguenot party proceed, that rumours were cir-

* Tom. iv. p. 402, Aug. 18.

† *Ibid.* p. 406. Sept. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 407.

§ *Ibid.* p. 409. *Que Dieu absolve* does not occur in Henry IV.'s own declaration, from which he erased the words with his own hand. (*Ibid.* p. 426.)

culated of an intention to elect a new protector of the Reformed churches, in lieu of Henry.*

The announcement of the king's assassination was received in Paris with transports of indecent joy; and the preachers of the League appear to have vied with the Duchess of Montpensier in the extravagance with which they manifested their delight. The former, in their sermons, canonized Jacques Clement as a saint and a martyr; the latter distributed green scarves, as emblems of mock mourning, among the chiefs of her faction,† who had worn black for the catastrophe at Blois. Every voice in the capital united in the rejection of the heretic and the *Bearnois*; the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino Mendoza, lavished promises of both troops and treasure, if Mayenne would continue firm in his resolution; and the duke, after a few days' deliberation, refused to admit any overture from Henry, and proclaimed the still imprisoned Cardinal de Bourbon king, by the style of Charles X.

Hostilities were not renewed till the middle of September, for Mayenne, always tardy from constitutional indolence, had now become more so from disease; and the penetrating judgment of Sixtus V. foretold his discomfiture, when he learned that the chief of the League sat more hours at table than the *Bearnois* allowed himself in bed.‡ Henry, indeed, by the skill with which he had constructed an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Dieppe, maintained his position against a greatly superior force; and in one of a series of combats, after a perilous day at Arques, he completely routed his enemy, and opened his own path once again to the gates of Paris.§ The Leaguers

* *Ibid.* p. 426.

† "Le deuil verd qui est la livrée des foux."—*Journal de Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 210. These green scarves furnish perpetual allusions in contemporary writings.

‡ *Prefixe*, p. 131.

§ The battle of Arques is well described by Sully, tom. i. l. iii. p. 247.

outnumbered him on that occasion in the fearful proportion of ten to one;* and when a prisoner of distinction, taken before the battle, expressed surprise at the few soldiers in the royal camp, Henry answered by remarking, "You have not yet seen all my forces; you have forgotten to reckon into your account God and the good cause which are on my side."†

The Parisians were ill prepared for the attack upon their city which ensued: deceived by the vaunts of Mayenne before his retreat, and by the artifices of the Duchess of Montpensier after he had been beaten, they confidently expected to see Henry dragged in chains through the streets, at the very moment in which he sat down under their walls with a very formidable army. Reinforced from Picardy and Champagne, and aided by 4000 English under Sir Roger Williams,‡ who had landed at Dieppe, he mastered the ten fauxbourgs by a brisk assault, killing more than 700 of the enemy; and would have possessed himself of the whole city, if his artillery had been sufficiently in advance.§ It was not till the reappearance of Mayenne, who again outnumbered him, that he abandoned his conquests, after four days' possession.||

On withdrawing to Tours, he carried with him,

and by Daniel, tom. vi. p. 319. from a relation by the Comte d'Auvergne (Charles of Valois, afterward Duc d'Angoulesme, a natural son of Charles IX.) who materially assisted Henry.

* Henry could oppose only 3000 men to Mayenne's 30,000. Sully, *ut sup.* Hence in the tapestry decorating the hall of assembly for the states, in the *Salon d'Arques*, the battle is called *le miracle d'Arques*, tom. i. p. 21. It was after this engagement that Henry wrote the memorable letter to Crillon, "Pends-toi brave Crillon, nous avons combattu à Arques, et tu n'y étois pas. Adieu, brave Crillon, je vous aime à tort et à travers."—Sully, tom. i. l. iii. p. 250, note. Daniel, in his history, has given an engraved plan of the battle.

† Sully, tom. i. l. iii. p. 248.

‡ De Thou, xcvi. 12.

§ The military operations of Henry IV. from his accession to the capture of the fauxbourgs, are related with great clearness in a *Discours* drawn up by Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 35.

|| De Thou, xcvi. 8.

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among his prisoners, Bourgoing the prior of the Dominicans, who was said to have encouraged Jacques Clement in his project of regicide, and who was now taken, sword in hand and cased in armour. The unshrinking fortitude with which this enthusiast underwent the inhuman punishment to which he was adjudged, amply evinced his sincerity, even if it failed to establish his innocence.*

But Mayenne, although in possession of the capital, was not long before he perceived the instability of that power which depends upon a faction for its maintenance. One of his earliest steps was to disembarass himself from the council of union; and for that purpose he declared, that as lieutenant-general of Charles X., it was only to the royal council that he could now look for advice. The Seize were wholly in the interests of the King of Spain, who for the present veiled his ulterior project upon the crown itself, by asking no more than the honourable title of Protector of the Realm of France. Besides the strength which thus accrued to Philip, he found powerful support from the legate whom Sixtus V. had at length been induced to despatch to France. The commission delivered to Caietano, the cardinal selected for that important office, prescribed a strict neutrality; he was to watch over the election of a king, if the phantom Charles X. were set aside, without regard to the temporal

* *Id. ibid.* That Bourgoing had preached in terms laudatory of the regicide after its committal was a matter of notoriety; but he denied to the last the testimony upon which he was convicted of having been privy to Jacques Clement's intention. The impression to be derived from the accounts both of De Thou and of Cayet (*Chron. Nov.* tom. i. p. 228) is strongly in his favour. In the *Remarques sur La Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. p. 111, reference is made to Mezeray, as furnishing a complete proof of Bourgoing's guilt from his dying words. Mezeray, however, does no more than repeat Cayet's notice of a reply to the *Gref-fier*, who, when the sufferer was already fastened to the horses, persecuted him by continuing to urge confession. The words which Bourgoing then employed, "I have done as much as I could, not as much as I wished," may be variously interpreted, and certainly are not to be cited as a *preuve entiere* of guilt. *Grande Hist.* tom. iii. p. 864.

claims of any of the pretenders ; he was not openly to repulse the King of Navarre, so long as there appeared any hope of his conversion ; and he was not further to meddle with the national choice than might secure the fidelity of the monarch upon whom that choice should fall, to the apostolical see.

Far from obeying these wise instructions, no sooner did Caietano set foot in Paris than he avowed himself a zealous partisan of the League and of the Spaniards. He was received with much parade ; and he would willingly have dis-^{1590.}
^{Jan. 5.} pensed with *some* of those evidences by which the populace testified joy on his arrival. The provost of the merchants, accompanied by 10,000 bourgeois, awaited his carriage in the Fauxbourg St. Jacques ; and the terrified cardinal was conveyed to his hotel amid repeated salvoes of musketry, from which he in vain sought to escape. He had heard beforehand evil reports of the maladroitness of the civic bands in their military training ; and he did not feel altogether secure that some disguised *Politique*, mingling with the crowd, might not profit by the opportunity to discharge a bullet. Trembling with fear of assassination either by an awkward friend or a concealed enemy, he motioned repeatedly with his hands, in the hope of terminating these unwelcome testimonies of honour. But the sign was mistaken for a benediction ; and the rabble, more than ever anxious to evince gratitude in return, charged and recharged their pieces, and deafened the exhausted prelate with the frequency and the closeness of their explosions, till he arrived at his residence.*

The legate soon discovered that it was hopeless to expect unanimity respecting the chief objects of his mission. Contenting himself therefore with the support of the several parties in that one point on

* Le Grain. *Decade de Henry le Grand*, liv. iv. p. 352.

which they all professed agreement, he obtained a decree from the Sorbonne, exceeding in violence any former declaration which that learned body had produced. It proclaimed not only that all persons were in a state of mortal sin, and exposed to damnation, who should recognise Henry of Bourbon as king; but it included in the same spiritual category every one who should not avow that he abhorred the following propositions: 1st, that Henry of Bourbon may or can be acknowledged king; 2dly, that conscience permits obedience to him and payment of his imposts; 3dly, that it is not contrary to religion to acknowledge him, provided he becomes a Catholic; 4thly, that the crown of France may pass to a relapsed and excommunicated heretic, if his right in other points be legitimate; 5thly, that the pope has not the power of excommunicating kings; 6thly, that it is allowable, and even necessary, to treat with the *Bearnoïis* and his heretics. To so great an extent did the preachers advance in their profane virulence, that they not only denied the authority of the pope to absolve Henry if he should be converted, but even the power of God to effect that conversion.*

Fortunately for the Reformed Church, it was by the sword, not by parchments nor by preachings, that the succession was to be established; and in the commencement of the spring campaign, Henry was again splendidly triumphant. On the military events which marked the winter, and which at length brought the armies of the king and of the League in contact on the plain of Yvry, it

March 14.

* *Remarques sur la Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. 198. These positions are admirably ridiculed in the speech attributed in that satire to the Duke of Mayenne. "Toutefois M. de Lyon et nos bons Predicateurs m'ont appris qu'il n'est pas en la puissance de Dieu de pardonner à un Heretique relaps, et que le Pape mesme ne scauroit lui donner absolution, fust-ce à l'article de la mort: ce que nous devons tenir pour treiziemesme Article de Foy, et adjouster au Symbole des Apostres: voir que si le Pape s'en vouloit mealer, nous le ferions excommunier luy-mesme par nostre mere la Sorbonne, qui scait plus de Latin, et doit plus Catholiquement que le Consistoire de Rome." tom. i. p. 46

is needless that we should dwell ; and, except on one or two of the memorable incidents of that great battle which have passed into historical proverbs, we shall be equally silent. Mayenne, as before, was much superior in numbers ; his force, including a band of Hispano-belgic auxiliaries, under the Count D'Egmont, exceeded 19,000 men :* that of Henry was little more than 10,000. While the king buckled on his helmet, he addressed a few words to the squadron in immediate attendance on his person, marking a pear-tree on the right of the field as a rallying point, if their ranks should be broken ; and adding, " If you lose sight of your standard, bear my white plumes in view ; they will ever be found in the path of honour and of duty ! " The caution was not unnecessary ; for the main struggle ensued with his own division, the chief captains of which fought hand to hand with the enemy. At one moment, the royal standard disappeared ;† but the white plumes were still in front, and the personal valour of Henry, ably seconded by his nobles, succeeded in overthrowing the 1200 lancers, whose fierce shock had nearly " prostrated France."‡ As the cavalry of the League gave way, their Swiss also threw down their arms ; and the fury of pursuit fell chiefly on the Reisters and Lansquenets, most of whom were cut to pieces, when the ominous cry arose, " Spare the French, but down with the foreigners ! " The Count D'Egmont was among the slain. Mayenne, who escaped by swimming his horse across the river Eure,§ at the end of the day could rally no more

* Du Plessis, *Mém. de la Bataille d'Ivry*, tom. iv. p. 473.

† *Id. ibid.*

‡ Sully, tom. i. l. iii. *au fin.*

§ He rode at full speed to Mantes, and, finding the gates shut, entered by a wicket, an adventure which is remembered in the tapestry of the hall of the states. " Il y faisoit beau voir M. le Lieutenant maudissant le dernier, s'encourir sur un cheval Turc, pour prendre Mante par le guichet, et dire aux habitans en note basse et courte haleine, ' Mes amis, sauvez moy et mes gens : tout est perdu, mais le Biarnoïs est mort ! ' " —*Sat. Men.* tom. i. p. 22.

than 4000 followers. All the *materiel* of his army was captured by the victors, and not the least glorious trophy, the standard of the Guises (a white pennon *semée* with black fleurs-de-lis) became the prize of Sully. That gallant soldier had been wounded in five different places, and lay senseless on the ground, after having had a horse killed under him in each of the first two charges. On recovering from his trance, he avoided the attack of a lancer by mounting a tree, amid the boughs of which he contrived to parry his thrusts. Without a helmet, with his body-armour shattered, exhausted from loss of blood, and scarcely able to balance himself on a sorry horse which he had purchased on the field, he was slowly retiring to his quarters after escaping these great perils, when seven fresh enemies appeared in sight. But his alarm was speedily relieved. Four of these cavaliers, after briefly stating the event of the battle, declared themselves his prisoners, and surrendered their standard. The three others, no less personages than the Sieurs de Tremont and D'Aumâle, and the Duke de Nevers, relied on the freshness of their horses, and bidding adieu to their less fortunate comrades, galloped onwards and escaped. Biron appears to have been the single royalist of note who was not engaged. He commanded a reserve; and when he congratulated Henry after the action, he employed words which have been often repeated: "Sire, we have this day exchanged parts; you have done that which would have become Biron, I have done that which belonged to the king."*

Many weeks elapsed between the victory of Yvry and the reinvestment of Paris. Whether dissensions in Henry's councils occasioned this unexpected delay, or whether his anxiety to avoid the chance of exposing his capital to an assault which

* *Preface*, p. 144.

might level it with the dust, induced him to pause, appears doubtful; but the tardiness of his movements contributed greatly to revive the drooping courage of the citizens, and gave the preachers of the league ample time to awaken among the populace an extinguishable enthusiasm. When the blockade commenced in May, the city, although feebly garrisoned, had been sufficiently fortified to render any attempt at storm most hazardous; and it was upon the slow process of famine among 230,000 souls, wholly dependent upon the supplies already accumulated within the walls, that the besiegers relied for success.* The death of the Cardinal of Bourbon, which occurred about the commencement of the blockade, appears to have produced little sensation, even among those who had acknowledged him as king.† The leaguers by his demise were left, indeed, without a nominal sovereign; but they had hitherto struggled far more to overthrow the pretensions of Henry than to maintain those of his specific rival; and, provided the crown could be saved from the immediate grasp of a heretic, they were well content to postpone its ultimate allotment almost indefinitely.

May 9.

It would be needlessly painful if we were to dwell upon the miseries suffered, during four months'

* An attack upon the fauxbourgs at the commencement of this siege is finely described by Sully, tom. ii. l. iv. p. 14. He was still disabled and on crutches, in consequence of the wounds received at Yvry; and Henry, who was attended, not only by a brilliant staff, and many other wounded officers, *mais encore de tous les vieillards et de gens de robe et de plume*, invited his faithful servant to take a place by his side at a window of the Abbey of Montmartre, which commanded the engagement.

† He was allowed to languish in miserable poverty. When the advocate-general of the league presented a petition to the council, requesting the allotment of a pension, which might enable the nominal king to support his dignity, he was gravely rebuked by the president for soliciting that which the prince was entitled to command from his subjects. Nevertheless, it was answered that the state of the treasury would not allow the grant of a pension, but that the league would endeavour to obtain a restoration of the benefices of which the cardinal had been deprived. *Remarques sur la Sat. Men.* tom. ii. p. 339.

blockade, by a city the supplies of which were calculated for its support through not more than a quarter of that period. When provisions began to fail, the Spanish ambassador distributed his useless pistoles among the starving population; the Sorbonne renewed its late ferocious decree; and the ecclesiastics arrayed processions, as so many expedients

June 3. by which men's minds might be diverted from the direct contemplation of the present evils.

The anomalous character of the times is vividly illustrated by an account remaining to us of an extraordinary muster, in which the priests, forgetting their calling as messengers of peace, adopted a military costume, and marshalled themselves in arms. At the head of a spiritual regiment of 1300 followers appeared Roze, bishop of Senlis, as generalissimo—or, as he himself loved to be called, like one of the Maccabees—bearing in his right hand a halberd, in his left a crucifix. His chief supporters were Hamilton, a Scotchman, the curé of St. Cosine, who acted as serjeant-major, and a lame monk, named Bernard de Montgaillard, better known as *Le Petit Feüillant*,* who appeared now in front, now in rear of the column, flourishing round his head a formidable two-handed sword, and distinguishing himself by the agility of his evolutions. Behind marched six motley battalions, composed of Feüllans, Capucins, Minimes, Cordeliers, Jacobins, and Carmelites, four abreast, and officered by their superiors, who mimicked the fierce gestures of the camp. Some were armed cap-a-pie, others with a cuirass or a headpiece, as each was able to provide himself with harness; and in order more completely to exhibit their warlike furniture, they tucked up their frocks, and threw back their cowls. Pikes, swords,

* So called, not from any diminutiveness of size, but because he distinguished himself by his pulpit eloquence at the precocious age of 20. A very full account of this fanatic, abridged from a printed *Life*, may be found in the *Remarques sur la Satyre Menippée*, tom. II. p. 51, &c.

partisans, and muskets glittered on their shoulders; and they traversed the streets, chanting psalms and hymns, and discharging their firearms at intervals as they passed the houses of any of the *Seize*.* The legate authorized this strange show by his presence; and the fears which he had expressed during the procession which celebrated his arrival were now too truly realized, when a ball, fired by one of the military novices, killed his almoner, who sat in the carriage by his side.† No further warning was requisite to speed the flight of Caietano from the scene of danger; but the accident was turned to good account by its authors; and it was affirmed that the soul of the deceased priest was immediately conveyed to paradise, as a reward for having perished while assisting in this labour of love.

The ridicule of this most indecorous exhibition did not escape the satirists of the opposite party: and the principal incidents attending it have been transferred, with very slight exaggeration, to an imaginary procession of the league, represented to have taken place at the opening of the subsequent assembly of the states-general in Paris. Perhaps no stronger evidence can be afforded of the absurdity of this masquerade than that which may be derived from a comparison of the grave narrative of De Thou with the avowedly ironical account in the *Satyre Menippée*. It may be honestly averred that the serious relation is by no means the least comic of the two.‡

* "Quand ils passoient devant le logis de quelque Mylord Seize, comme font les gentils Soldats devant les portes de leurs maitresses."—*Le Grain Decade de Henri IV.* liv. v. p. 449.

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 52. Cayet calls the wounded man a secretary; *Le Grain* says, two valets were "mal traictez aux cascals de ces nouveaux harquebusiers."

‡ Take, for instance, De Thou's representation of the monkish officers: "Seniores primi incedebant, torvo vultu, rubentibus oculis, aprugnis dentibus, totoque corporis gestu minas et militarom fastum scenica simulatione referentes." Again, *Le Petit Feuillant* appears more ridiculous in De Thou's sedate and sustained description than even under

To the professed histories of the time we must refer for details of the horrible sufferings to which the Parisians were exposed by the unparalleled obstinacy of their resistance; for, although the incidents of this war must be borne in view, in order to render our story intelligible, they may be amply learned from innumerable other sources, and they by no means belong to the foreground of our picture. It is said that thirteen thousand souls perished by absolute destitution; and yet, even during this extremity, but few signs of discontent were manifested, and it was not often, nor from many lips, that the cries of *Pain ou Paix* were uttered.* Moved by pity, exhausted by the lingering nature of the service, or failing in discipline, the besiegers at length relaxed their vigilance. The king, without resources from which the long arrears of pay could be discharged, was compelled to allow his troops to profit by the distress of the citizens; and large supplies were stealthily smuggled within the walls by the very hands professedly engaged for their reduction. To the necessities of Henry, rather than to any mistaken clemency, must be ascribed the conduct by which his enterprise was frustrated, and which has been the theme of much indiscriminating eulogy. It was not possible to check the cupidity or to disap-

the playful touches of Pierre le Roy. "Omnium oculos in se convertibat Bernardus e Folicensi Ordine, adhuc juvenis, qui altero pede claudus, nusquam certo loco consistens, sed huc illuc cursitans, modo in fronte, modo in agnibus tergo, latum ensem ambabus manibus rotabat, et claudicantis vitium gladiatoria mobilitate excedebat." xcviil. 20. The following is the portrait of Frère Bernard in the *Satyre Menippée*. "Les autres presque tous avoient des piques qu'ils branloient souvent, par faute de meilleur passeo temps, horsmis un Fedillant botteux, qui armé tout à crud se faisoit faire place avec une espée à deux mains, et une hache d'armes à sa ceinture, son Breviaire pendu par derriere, et le faisoit bon voir sur un pied, faisant le moulinet devant les Dames . . . mais tout cela marchoit en moult belle ordonnance Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine."—Tom. i. p. 13.

* This cry was occasionally raised. In the 1st volume of the *Satyre Menippée*, p. 387, &c. is printed a *Discours bref et veritable par Pierre Corneio Ligueur*, giving an account of the Parisian famine, which in many points forms a parallel with De Lery's narrative of the siege of Sancerre.

point the avarice of his soldiers, while thus bartering food for gold, without risking a mutiny; and when the still hungering citizens poured forth thousands of the old and imbecile, in order to disembarass themselves from useless mouths, Henry could not drive them back from his lines at the sword's point, without incurring everlasting infamy by a cold-blooded massacre.

At length, the Duke of Mayenne, who since his defeat at Yvry had been soliciting aid from Spain, obtained a powerful succour; and the Prince of Parma,* the most successful general of his time, advanced from his government in the Netherlands to the relief of Paris. So cautious was his march, so warily were his positions taken, so strongly were his halting-places intrenched, that he everywhere retained the choice of operations; and when Henry despatched a trumpet with a challenge to battle, he was mortified at receiving in answer that the Spanish commander had not traversed France to adopt advice from his enemy; and that however repugnant to the wishes of the king might be the plan of campaign which the Prince of Parma had framed, it was not likely to be changed unless upon compulsion.† After a fruitless attempt at escalade by night, the king abandoned his trenches and withdrew to Senlis; dismissing the greater proportion of his army, and retaining about him not more troops than were sufficient for light and flying operations.

The death of Sixtus V. occurred shortly before the relief of Paris; and so little was Aug. 27. his memory respected by the leaguers, with whom he had never cordially united, that God was publicly thanked from the pulpits for having delivered

* Alessandro Farnese, son of Ottavio Farnese and Margaret of Austria, a natural daughter of Charles V.

† *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 84.

them from a bad pope and a *Politique*.* The tiara was worn for a few days only by Urban VII. † and it then passed to the brows of Gregory XIV., who devoted the ten months of his pontificate to a vehement support of the Spanish interests, and prodigally expended in their behalf the five millions of gold which had been amassed by the thrift of Six-

tus.‡ One of his earliest measures was to
 1591. levy a considerable army for the aid of the *Seize*, under the command of a nephew, whom he created Duke of Montemarciano,§ in order to confer dignity upon his expedition. He next addressed monitions to all the French Romanists, both nobles and ecclesiastics, who had proffered allegiance to Henry; menacing the former with spiritual censures, the latter with deprivation, unless they should immediately abandon the cause of the heretic, whose excommunication he renewed. The war, however, languished during the winter. The Prince of Parma, who speedily returned to Flanders, had suffered more than once very greatly from the royalist detachments which hung upon his rear. The king, on the retreat of the Spanish army, projected

* *Id. ibid.* p. 94. Aubry, Curé of St. André, preached in the following terms: "Dieu vous a delivré d'un meschant Pape et Politique; s'il eust vescu plus long-temps, on eust bien estonné d'ouïr preacher dans Paris contre le Pape qu'il eust falu faire."—*Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 7, note.

† Giambattista Castagna, to whose probable successor Sixtus V. made an heraldic allusion, founded on their respective armorial bearings. One day, on finding some pears served at his dessert rotten at the core, he remarked to his attendants, "I see well enough that you are tired of *Pears*, and want *Chestnuts*." Amelot de la Houssaie, Note on *Lettres d'Ossat*, tom. i. p. 19.

‡ "Vixit annos lvii. sedit mensibus x. diebus x. quo tempore totum illud quinque decies centena M. aureorum, tantâ parsimoniâ et aviditate a Sixto V. congesta, absumpsit; majorem partem in Belli Gallici sumptus, quod quàm injustè et imprudenter susceptum tam infelicem et dignum consilio exitum habuit."—De Thou, cii. 9.

§ The domain of Montemarciano, in the March of Ancona, had belonged to Alfonso Piccolomini, who was deprived of it by Gregory XIV. on a charge of treason. In 1591, Piccolomini was hanged at Florence, as a chief of brigands. De Thou, c. 11. The nephew on whom the pope bestowed this title was Ercole Stondrato.

a surprise of Paris, which proved unsuccessful;* but in the siege of Chartres he was more fortunate; and having obtained possession of that city, after nine weeks' investment,† he employed a short interval of comparative repose from arms in the adjustment of some pressing civil affairs. April 19.

The more bigoted among the Romanists who had acknowledged Henry felt dissatisfied at his continued profession of Huguenotism; and the profligate courtiers of the late king, however careless about religion, were soon disgusted with the poverty of their new master, which deprived their long-indulged rapacity of any hope of future gratification. It might be well enough, they said, for the Huguenots, desperate animals who hated repose, and who were always laced up in their cuirasses, like so many tortoises, to be paid for the intolerable labours of war by the promised restorative of a battle;‡ but for themselves, they looked for other bounties. Out of the union of these two factions, when their grievances had been mutually communicated, arose a *Tiers-parti*; which from small beginnings at length assumed a formidable aspect. "When we first heard reports of this *Tiers-parti*," says D'Aubigné, "we believed in it as little as we did in that *troisième lieu* which the papists assert is

* A number of soldiers disguised as peasants, driving asses laden with sacks of flour, attempted to master one of the gates; but their stratagem had been betrayed to the leaguers. The enterprise is known as *La Journée des Farines* and *Sancta Farinata dies*. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 106. De Thou, *cf.* 6.

† Matthieu has preserved a *bon mot* by Henry upon entering Chartres. The mayor, in a set harangue, in the name of his fellow-citizens, protested obedience and fidelity: "à laquelle nous sommes obligés par le droit divin et humain." "Et par le droit de canon," answered the king, spurring on his horse, and escaping the remainder of the speech.

‡ "Lequel pour les paier des labeurs intolérables de la guerre pensoit leur avoir donné un restaurant en leur promettant une bataille. Cela, disoient-ils, estoit bon pour les Huguenots, gens desesperez, consus en leur cuirasses comme tortues, ennemies de l'aise et du repos."—D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. c. 23, p. 290.

an intermediate state of future existence.”* But after the malecontents had addressed themselves to the young and thoughtless Charles of Vendôme,† who had assumed his late uncle’s title of Cardinal of Bourbon, and had been persuaded that his uncle’s right to the crown also was his legitimate inheritance, the sedition ripened into a conspiracy. The prince, indeed, possessed few qualities fitted to command respect or attachment. He is described as weak, timid, and superstitious, libertine in his morals, and degraded by the most sordid avarice.‡ But his name, his family, his rank of prince of the blood, and his real proximity to the throne, contributed to give him an influence of which personally he was altogether unworthy. His chief and confidential adviser was a renegade Huguenot of low origin, but of eminent ability, the afterward celebrated Du Perron. No scholar of his time was more profoundly versed in the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas, from the *Summa* of which latter writer he is said (although we know not how the assertion can be supported) to have imbibed a distaste from Protestantism. His great controversial powers first introduced him to notice in the court of Henry III.; and on the assassination of that prince, he found protection from the Cardinal of Bourbon, whose vanity prompted him to affect the character of a Mæcenæ.§

The *Tiers-parti* was not yet sufficiently strong to venture upon an open avowal of its designs; but they

July. were partially known to the king, and when he assembled a council at Mantes, the Cardinal of Bourbon received a summons to attend. He obeyed reluctantly, and not until more than one

* *Id. ibid.*

† Fourth son of Louis Prince of Condé.

‡ De Thou, ci. 9. *Var. Lect.* A little better character is offered of the cardinal at the time of his death. *Id. cx. 14.*

§ De Thou, ci. 9. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 111.

citation had been served. But his apprehensions must have been dispelled by the apparent cordiality of his reception. Henry, who wished to separate him from his factious adherents, and who was not without hope that he might be betrayed into some intemperance during the ensuing discussion, by which their plans might be more fully laid open, dissembled his suspicions, and paid him marked honours on his arrival. Du Perron, who formed part of his suite, was distinguished by the royal attention; and, won by the graciousness of Henry's demeanour, bribed by his promises, and doubtless awakening to the weakness of the party with which he had engaged, he is believed to have made full revelation of its projects.*

Of the two edicts proposed at this assembly,† the first regarded the papal monitions. Those documents had already encountered rude treatment from the parliament of Chalons. After having been declared null, scandalous, seditious, full of imposture, opposed to decretals, canons, and councils, and destructive of the liberties of the Gallican Church, they were publicly burned by the executioner. The nuncio, Andriano, their bearer, was proscribed, as having entered France without the king's permission; a reward of 10,000 livres was offered for his arrest, and capital punishment was denounced against all who should receive or entertain him. The king now renewed the declaration which he had made immediately after his accession, and repeated his promise of submitting to "instruction." He added also expressions of regret that the pope, incautiously listening to false representations made by the leaguers, should have endeavoured to shake the allegiance of his noblest followers and subjects. To the authorized tribunals of his kingdom he in-

* De Thou, ci. 13.

† *Id.* ci. 14, 15. The edicts are printed at length in *Mém. de la Ligue*, tom. iv. p. 359, 360.

trusted the prosecution of such measures as they might deem necessary to repel this great invasion of the rights of the national church; and he contented himself with advising his prelates to assemble with all speed, and to frame a canonical decree which might relieve the clergy from doubt, and effectually frustrate the consequences of the pope's illegal censure.

The second proposition concerned the Huguenots. Many months before, in the November of the past year, Du Plessis had arranged a "formulary" for the revocation of the disastrous edict of July. It declared that every possible exertion should be employed to procure the assembling of a legitimate general council, for the adjustment of religious differences; in default of which, the king, on his own authority, would summon a national council, which might restore tranquillity at least in France. In the mean time, it revoked all the violent ordinances extorted from the late king by the league; and adopted the edict of 1577, as the basis on which the privileges of both religions were to rest for the future.* Although this wise and tolerant arrangement received the approbation of the royal council, it was never promulgated; and in the following March, Du Plessis presented a brief but most pointed remonstrance on its delay. "We are told," says this fearless advocate, "that the Huguenots must have patience. They have been patient for fifty years—they will still be patient in the service of their king, for they are his subjects, and their affections change not; but it is not for his service that they should continue patient in such a matter as this; and even if they so wished, his majesty ought not to allow it. What, indeed, has patience to do with the affairs of religion! Every hour witnesses births, marriages, and deaths. Shall our children continue to die with-

* Tom. iv. p. 492.

out baptism! Shall our marriages be concluded without solemnity, in order that they may afterward be litigated! Shall our dead be denied the rites of sepulture! If three families assemble together to offer prayers to God for the prosperity of the king—if a mechanic sings a psalm in his workshop—if a bookseller exposes a French Bible or Testament for sale—these are offences which daily subject us to prosecution. The law, it is said, compels the prosecution. The law then should be changed; unless it is one and the same thing to pray to God for the prosperity of the king quietly in one's own chamber, and to preach seditiously from the pulpit against his person and his government.”*

The king prefaced the measures now offered to the council with a long and argumentative speech, in which he enumerated the disasters consequent upon the revocation of the edict of 1577. Policy, not less than justice, he said, now demanded its renewal; for it was far better to concede their rights to the Huguenots, than to run the hazard of arousing among them some powerful leader, who, even if he failed of complete success, would certainly perpetuate their faction. Speed also was necessary; and the arrangement should be concluded before the arrival of the auxiliaries hourly expected from England and the German princes; lest those powers should advance demands which it would be dangerous to grant and difficult to refuse with honour. He proposed, therefore, to abrogate all the “sanguinary and incendiary” edicts which had been passed under the dominance of the league, and to restore that salutary ordinance which the king his predecessor had loved to call peculiarly his own. At the close of this speech, the Cardinal of Bourbon stammered a few unintelligible words in opposition, and rose from his seat as if to quit the council in anger. Not

* Tom. v. p. 40.

one of the ecclesiastics moved to follow : Henry recalled him in a tone of marked contempt ; and the proposed edict was unanimously adopted, with the addition of a clause limiting its duration till the conclusion of peace, when a general review might be taken of the state of religion.*

Aug. 31. The campaign was renewed by the siege and capture of Noyon ; but the joy consequent on this success was greatly diminished by the death of one whose loss, as his master justly and feelingly remarked, was not to be compensated by the acquisition even of a province. La Nouë, who was employed in besieging the strong castle of Lamballe in Bretany, was wounded in the head by a musket-ball, which struck him from a ladder on which he was reconnoitring the breach. He lingered eighteen days after this casualty, retaining his intellects to the last moment, and devoting himself to offices of piety. The single regret which seems to have disturbed his parting hours arose from a contemplation of the probable embarrassment of his family ; for not only had he expended a princely fortune in asserting the Huguenot cause, but he had rendered his estates liable to engagements which they were little competent to defray.†

Torn as were his own councils by faction, Henry's chief strength at this period arose from the still greater disunion which prevailed among his enemies. An occurrence which he at first viewed with dismay tended ultimately much to his advantage ;

Oct. 15. and the escape of the young Duke of Guise from the prison at Tours, in which he had been confined since his father's murder,‡ raised a

* De Thou, ci. 15.

† Amiraux, p. 364. De Thou, cii. 3. The latter writer has condensed the high merits of La Nouë into a few most pregnant words. "Vir utique ingens, et fortitudine, prudentiâ, rei militaris peritiâ cum maximis hujus ævi ducibus comparandus ; plerisque vitæ innocentia, moderatione, æquitate præferendus." La Nouë died in his sixtieth year.

‡ He escaped by a rope from the top of a lofty tower overlooking the

dangerous and unexpected competition against his uncle of Mayenne. The *Seize*, eager to disembarass themselves from the shackles of a leader whom they had always feared and now detested, endeavoured by secret negotiation with the court of Madrid to open a path for Guise's succession to the crown. Philip, indeed, notwithstanding the restrictions which the Salic Law interposed upon female inheritance, no longer disguised his intention of asserting the claim of his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, to the throne of France, in right of her mother;* and the prize seemed likely to fall to the successful candidate for her hand. The Archduke Ernest of Austria was the son-in-law whom the King of Spain contemplated; but the French were ill prepared to submit to a dynasty altogether foreign. The despatches which the *Seize* addressed to Madrid were intercepted on their route, and conveyed to Henry; and not the least remarkable portion of their contents was the blindness and inveteracy with which they alluded to some of the foulest acts in recent national history. The month of August, it was said, had again manifested itself propitious to the interests of the Church, by giving freedom to the Duke of Guise, the son of the protomartyr of France. That month, in a former year, had witnessed a blow, directed by Providence, which removed a tyrant; and yet earlier it had been rendered more illustrious by the ever-memorable chastisement inflicted upon Coligny and his heretical followers.†

It was by no means to negotiation only that the efforts of the *Seize* were confined: and a bloody outrage which they perpetrated in the heart of Paris evinced that they were resolute in action also. The

river; a boat was waiting below to carry him across, and a fleet horse and a strong escort received him on the opposite bank. De Thou, *cl.* 20. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. I. p. 135.

* Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II.

† De Thou, *cil.* 12.

honest opposition with which the parliament had encountered their intrigues had rendered that body scarcely less odious to them than was Mayenne himself; and some excitement, occasioned by its acquittal of a citizen accused on slight grounds of holding treacherous communication with the royalist army, appeared to offer to the *Seize* a favourable opportunity for wreaking vengeance. Bussy le Clerc,* on this, as on other occasions, was their chief instrument. In order to prevent opposition from his less violent associates in a small and select council which the *Seize* had nominated among themselves, he pretended that he had drawn up a new oath of union; and presenting a blank paper to which he said the official form would be annexed, as soon as it had been transcribed by the secretaries, he obtained, under this false pretext, the signatures which were to give a varnish of legality to the crime which he projected. The unwritten space was immediately filled up with a sentence of death against Brissou, *président au mortier* of the parliament, and L'Archer and Tardif, two of its counsellors most distinguished among the advocates for peace; and the three unsuspecting victims having been

Nov. 16. arrested and dragged to the Châtelet, were strangled in its vaults under the eyes of their enemies.

To the many acknowledged excellences of Brissou, his eloquence and profound knowledge both of

* Jean le Clerc, originally a fencing-master and afterward a police officer (*Prevôt de Salle*), having made himself useful to the league, was appointed Lieutenant of the Bastille after the day of Barricades. He then prefixed the name of Bussy to his own; an idle and impudent vaunt, by which he sought to appropriate to himself a reputation for bravery similar to that which the gallant Bussy d'Amboise enjoyed among the Parisians. "Dont le nom valloit encore chez eux autant que celui de Cesar."—D'Aubigné, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. c. 1. Louis de Clermont, better known as Fussy D'Amboise, was a favourite of the Duke of Anjou, and distinguished for many eminent qualities. He took especial pleasure in affronting the minions of Henry III.; and he was at last assassinated by the Count de Monsereau, who detected him in an intrigue with his wife. *Journal de Henri III.* tom. i. p. 294. Brantôme, *Discours* lxxv. tom. vii.

law and of general literature, has been opposed the imputation of avarice and ambition; but the touching simplicity which he exhibited in his last most trying moments conveys an impression that he possessed a mind stimulated by loftier motives than the hope of any worldly gain or aggrandizement. When he inquired upon what evidence his sentence rested, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers, he was answered by a ferocious burst of laughter; and this unfeeling mockery was repeated upon his next application, that his execution might be delayed till he had completed a great work upon jurisprudence which then employed his pen, and which he averred could not be left unfinished without serious injury to the state. On the morning following these murders, the three bodies were exposed at the Grève, with a label attached to each, declaring it to be the corpse of a traitor and a heretic.* But this spectacle, which it was hoped might arouse some movement among the populace favourable to the ultimate designs of the *Seize*, was regarded with coldness, if not with disgust. The magistrates were venerable, both on account of their years and of their integrity; and while the want of open trial and the hurried and obscure circumstances of their death tended to generate compassion among the Parisians, the Spanish agents were alarmed at an act which they deemed rash and inconsiderate, and likely to involve them in danger.

The *Seize*, indeed, however devoid of compunction for their wickedness, were soon made to perceive the great political error into which they had fallen. When this outrage was announced to the Duke of Mayenne at Laon, he pro-^{Nov. 27.} ceeded at once to Paris with a force of nearly 3000 men, compelled Bussy le Clerc to abandon the Bastile, and having taken due precautions for the tran-

* De Thou, cii. 12

quillity of the city, condemned nine of the leading delinquents to the gallows. Four of them

Dec. 4. were immediately seized and executed;* the remainder, among whom was Bussy himself, effected their escape. It is said that in the house of that demagogue, which was given up to pillage, 700,000 francs were found, the harvest either of extortion or of Spanish bribery. Shorn of his ill-acquired wealth and his brief authority, he retired to Brussels, where he re-entered upon his original occupation as a fencing-master, and lived unmolested, but in poverty, to an advanced age.† The Duke of Mayenne, content with the measure of punishment which he had exacted, proclaimed a general amnesty for the past. Any further judicial steps were indeed unnecessary; for the unaccustomed promptness and vigour which he had manifested in this instance palsied the *Seize*, and so far diminished their influence that henceforward they became comparatively harmless.

Meantime the Romanist prelates who adhered to the king, having assembled at Chartres, declared the late papal censures to be altogether null, both in form and matter, contrary to justice, and framed on the suggestion of foreign enemies of France.‡ Their deliberations, however, were very far from satisfying the acute judgment of Du Plessis; he perceived that the clergy, having been excommunicated, while the lay authorities had been only admonished, were chiefly guided by a wish to free themselves from their own heavier burden; that in opposition to the king's express command, they applied for permission to treat with Rome; that they sought to diminish the constitutional authority of the parliament, to which hitherto, from

* *Despeche du Duc de Parme au Roy d'Espagne.* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 112.

† *Remarques sur La Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. p. 105.

‡ *Declaration du Clergé de France.* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 72.

time immemorial, all disputes between the crown and the papacy had been referred; that they appeared to stipulate for the conversion of the king as the price at which their obedience was to be purchased; and that they sought to appropriate to themselves the office of sole mediators of peace, under which dangerous pretext they might organize a general Romanist league, destructive to the king's free agency. The remonstrance in which he conveyed these opinions* produced the desired effect upon Henry; who evaded each request of the clergy in civil terms, and maintained his ground unshaken, notwithstanding he was pressingly urged to abandon it.

His army having been increased, by the junction of German and English auxiliaries, to the formidable amount of nearly 40,000 men, Henry felt himself strong enough to undertake the Nov. 13. siege of Rouen; an important enterprise which he had long meditated, and upon which the entire possession of Normandy appeared dependant. Before his march into that province, he rewarded the faithful services of Turenne, his chief agent in the gathering of this vast armament, by presenting him with the hand of Charlotte de la Marche, to whom her deceased brother had bequeathed the rich inheritance of Sedan and Bouillon, on condition that she married a Protestant. Henry, as the lady's guardian, had been earnestly solicited by the Dukes of Louvaine, of Montpensier, and of Nevers, to set aside this testamentary provision in favour of some one of their sons; but if gratitude had been an insufficient motive to prompt his decision, there were abundant reasons of policy which precluded him

* *Despeche envoyée de Tours au Roy, Oct. liij. 1591. Id. tom. v. p. 85.* The articles to which that despatch objects are not to be found in the declaration of the clergy noticed above; but they are acknowledged in a subsequent *Memorandum de ce qui passe en la poursuite du resultat de l'Assemblée du Clergé, Dec. 18, 1591. Ibid. p. 192.*

from entertaining the proposition of either an avowed enemy or of uncertain friends.* As if his former indefatigable activity had been insufficient to justify his master's choice, Turenne (hence forward known as the Duke de Bouillon and a *maréchal* of France), on the very evening of his nuptials, surprised the town of Stenay, and captured it from the Lorrainers by escalade.—“*Ventre St. Gris!*”† was Henry's exclamation when he learned this new conquest; “I would make marriages every day, and should soon be in full possession of my kingdom, if I were sure of such wedding presents.”‡

The defence of Rouen was intrusted by the Duke de Mayenne to his son Henry of Aiguillon, whose extreme youth was placed under the surer guidance of André de Brancas Villars, the nominal admiral of the league, than whom no soldier existed of greater valour and capacity. Queen Elizabeth, anxious to expel the leaguers from the provinces immediately opposite the English coast, had despatched the Earl of Essex to Boulogne with 4000 well-appointed men; and the first blood shed under the walls of Rouen was that of a nephew of the British general. His soldiers embalmed the body, and deposited it in a leaden coffin, avowing their intention to carry it with them through the breach whenever they should be ordered to the general assault.§ Whether irritated by this family loss, or indulging a chivalrous spirit, which had not yet be-

* De Thou, cii. 15.

† This favourite exclamation had been taught Henry in his childhood, in order to prevent him from acquiring the evil habit of blasphemous swearing, to which, as we have before mentioned, Charles IX. was so disgracefully addicted. The allusion was to the *fat* Franciscans, who wore *gray* habits. *L'Esprit* de Henry IV. Sully, tom. x. p. 174.

‡ Cayet. *Chron. Nov.* tom. ii. p. 482. De Bury. *Hist. de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 281. Maimbourg aptly compares Turenne to David, “who married not Saul's daughter till he had killed a hundred Philistines” p. 845.

§ De Thou, cii. 17. When the English were disappointed in this hope by the breaking up of the siege they carried the body home.

come generally obsolete, and by which no contemporary, perhaps, was more individually swayed,* Essex addressed a cartel to Villars, challenging him to combat on foot or on horseback in a coat-of-mail or in his doublet; "in either of which arrays I will maintain that my quarrel is more just than that of the league, that I am a better man than yourself, and that my mistress is superior to yours in beauty. If you decline to meet me singly, I will bring twenty followers, each of whom shall be an equal match for a colonel; or sixty, with none lower in degree than a captain." Villars was too prudent to be diverted from the strict line of duty which his high charge imposed upon him: and he replied, that till the arrival of the Duke of Mayenne, he was not at his own disposal: "*Then*," he added, in the customary language appropriated to the *Duello*, "I will cheerfully accept your invitation, and will fight you on horseback, with the arms in use among gentlemen. To come to the concluding part of your letter, in which you assert that you are a better man than myself, I answer, that you have lied, and will lie so often as you repeat the assertion. In like manner you will lie if you deny that the quarrel which I maintain in defence of my Religion is more just than that of any who seek its destruction. As for the comparison of your mistress with mine, I am inclined to believe that you do not speak with more truth on that head than on the others. Nevertheless it is not a subject which gives me much concern at present." These fierce demonstrations and preludings of battle were not followed by any real conflict; whether the first heat of the correspondents gradually subsided; whether they were forbidden by superior authority from prosecuting their private

* "On remarquoit en l'un le naturel ancien des vieux Chevaliers Anglois qui couraient le monde pour maintenir la beauté de leurs maîtresses."—Cayet. *Chron. Nov.* tom. ii. p. 503, to whom reference may be made for the cartel and its answer.

feud; or whether, as is more probable, the activity with which the siege was pressed did not allow sufficient pause for the formalities of a listed combat.

Two months had been consumed in this siege, with the alternations of fortune usually incident to vigorous attack and resolute defence, when the king's hope of success was materially diminished by advice that the Prince of Parma was again advancing from the Netherlands. His first resort was to England; and it will be more to our purpose to relate a few particulars of the remarkable negotiation in which Du Plessis consequently became engaged with Elizabeth, than to detail the sorties and assaults which occurred at Rouen. The narrative of the diplomatist contains many occasional notices which afford strong conviction of the nature of the queen's feelings towards her youthful, gallant, and accomplished favourite.

Du Plessis was instructed to request an additional succour of 5000 men, whose services probably would not be required for a longer period than six weeks; and many of the arguments likely to be employed in justifying a refusal were sagaciously foreseen, perhaps from a consciousness that they might be advanced with truth.* It appears that of the 4000 men originally sent, not more than 600 could now be mustered under arms; and that their general, who had visited England on a short furlough, had returned to his command, in opposition to the queen's will and menaced with the loss of her favour. These were by no means favourable preliminaries to Du Plessis' negotiation; and accordingly, "having been long well acquainted with the humours of the queen," he felt assured that, unless he could persuade Essex to bend homeward, all his labours would be hopeless. But the Prince of Parma was in full march towards Rouen; a battle was con-

* Tom. v. p. 129.

fidently expected ; and the high and generous feeling of the English soldier could ill brook the dishonour of quitting his post at so spirit-stirring a moment.*

On reaching Dieppe, Mornay encountered an uncle of Essex, on his route to the French camp, charged expressly by the queen to summon the truant home on pain of forfeiture of his estates and dignities, and of the recall of all her subjects from France; "So little was her majesty in any disposition to furnish reinforcements for the succour of the king." Scarcely had he touched land at Rye (La Rie, as he writes it, in conformity with French orthography), before he was met by a second messenger bearing similar despatches. Nevertheless he pro-^{1592.}
ceeded. On the very evening of his arrival ^{Jan. 4.}

in London he received a message from the queen, through the French resident, to whom she had sent the clerk of her council for the purpose, urging him to write instantly to the king, with a request that he would order Essex to withdraw from a dangerous position which he was reported to occupy between the outposts and the besieged city ; and that he would put some restraint upon the earl's rash and hair-brained follies. Du Plessis assured Elizabeth, in return, that Henry had already forbidden the lodgment ; and that he had gently shown the foolhardiness of the project, while he at the same time commended the bravery and affection which had prompted Essex to make the offer. The ^{Jan. 6.}
first audience was stormy ; the queen expressed herself as altogether disgusted with the conduct of affairs in France, and rudely and resolutely† announced her determination not to assist the king with more than her prayers. The reasons she assigned were perpetually interrupted by angry

* *Lettre du Roy à M. de Beauvoir, Ambassadeur pour sa Majesté en Angleterre.* Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 148.

† *Rude et résolue.* Du Plessis au Roy, tom. v. p. 170.

digressions, reproaches, and menaces against Essex. She declared "that she would reduce him to a level with the meanest peasant in England; that he had persuaded the king that he was lord of all, but that she would show him the difference;" being firmly resolved, not only not to send him reinforcements, but even to recall all the troops which she had before despatched.

Du Plessis wisely allowed this passion to exhale; replied as briefly as possible; and asked permission to draw up on paper an explanatory memorandum. His request was granted, and he was instructed to deliver his protocol to the lord-treasurer.

Jan. 8. In his second audience, two days afterward, Elizabeth was equally indignant against Essex, but somewhat more gracious towards the King of France; she seemed still, however, obstinately bent on the refusal of any fresh aid, although she might permit him to retain that which she had already sent. It was not without difficulty that De Mornay persuaded her not to consider this as her final answer, and obtained leave to offer a second memorial to Burleigh. The cabinet throughout seems to have been favourable to Henry's application;* and the queen was so far biased by its advice, that after the communication of that document, she gave orders for the levy of 3000 men, who, for the sake of expedition, were to be raised in Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, from a class, the name of which we do not recognise, but which is said to have been especially allotted to the defence of those districts.† "But two hours afterward, having

* "Parce qu'il est certain que tous les principaux de son Conseil reconnoissent qu'elle ne vous doit manquer en cette necessité."—*Id. ibid.*

† "Elle se lascha à accorder au Roy deux mille piquiers et mille mousquetaires, et furent proposés les moyens de les accélérer, à sçavoir en les prenant es pays de Kent, Sussex, et Isle de Wick. qui sont les plus prochaines contrées, d'entre ceulx mesmes qui sont destinés et retenues pour la défense du pays, qu'ils appellent en leur langage *Treauthman*." —Tom. v. p. 164. *Train-bands* has been suggested to us as the word intended.

altered her opinion, she flew into a violent rage with her counsellors, accusing them of having made up a story, and formed a party against her with the French ambassadors; and that as for Essex, she would rather see him dead than send him any reinforcements." The ill-humour and self-will which she evinced were not to be exceeded; and she appeared determined to refuse all suggestions from others, even if any of those in her confidence had now been hardy enough to offer them.*

In a third audience, Elizabeth was more violent than heretofore: she said the dis- Jan. 12.
affected among her subjects accused her of throwing away the lives of their countrymen; that it was insufferable to be perpetually asked for more troops, when, if any thing untoward should occur, those whom she had already sent were without a place of retreat; and that if she were denied the payment due to her by treaty, she ought at least to have some security for the brave men whose blood she hazarded. That she had to do with a king who passed his whole life in the trenches. Moreover, she had been confidently informed, that, on one occasion, when four points of the counterscarp had been attacked, the English were led to three of them; and that the Earl of Essex, her general, had been silly enough to be there in person, and to mount guard in the trenches. Her expressions throughout this speech sufficiently betrayed how greatly she took to heart the danger to which Essex was exposed.

Du Plessis answered, that in blaming his master for hazarding his person too lavishly, the queen, in fact, only accused him of too great courage—courage, the spring of which was to be found in *his affection for her*. That the Earl of Essex, when

* " Mais elle se resout toute seule en ceste affaire, et n'y en a aulcun, au chagrin où elle est, qui la veuille presser."—*Ibid.* p. 171.

mounting guard in the trenches, did no more than was done by the king himself, nothing either rash or beneath his dignity; for that, according to the rules of the French service, the trenches were always divided among the princes and nobles present at a siege; that the English had not been employed in the assault in order to spare the French (who, in fact, bore a double portion of fatigue), but because, being pikemen, they were peculiarly adapted to close fighting. This reply was not made continuously, but by instalments, as the ambassador found opportunity to obtain a hearing; and he had the mortification of receiving, at its close, a renewed assurance that no reinforcement should be sent, lest Essex, finding himself at the head of a goodly force, should make it an additional reason for prolonging his absence; that the queen neither would nor could act otherwise; and that Du Plessis must not imagine that there was a certain person (meaning Essex) who could make her change her design; for that, in fact, he possessed but little credit, and no one but herself was ruler in England.

To persevere under these circumstances would have served only to increase irritation, and Du Plessis demanded his passports and withdrew. When Burleigh was ordered by the queen to reduce to paper the reasons by which her conduct had been guided, he had the courage and the honesty to reply, that he did not know any reason; nevertheless, that being her majesty's servant, he would write whatever she might dictate, although it was not what he approved. On the contrary, he entreated her to remember, if any misadventure should occur, that his advice was altogether opposed to her determination. The story of this embassy would be incomplete, if we were to omit to add, that Elizabeth despatched 2000 men to the king's aid immediately *after Essex* had returned; thus satisfactorily proving

the conclusion at which Du Plessis had arrived, that the absence of the favourite was the sole impediment which retarded the success of Henry's application.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Fresh Advance of the Prince of Parma—Skirmish at Aumâle—Henry is wounded—Brilliant Retreat of the Prince of Parma—Death of Maréchal Biron, and of the Prince of Parma—State of Henry's Religious Opinions—Meeting of the States-General in Paris—The Satyre Menippée—Conferences at Surenne—Excitement in Paris, occasioned by the Clergy—Henry summons the Prelates to his Instruction—Proposition by the King of Spain opposed by the Parliament—Capture of Dreux—The Spaniards propose the Duke of Guise as King—Mayenne temporizes—State of Feeling among the Huguenots—Instruction and Abjuration of Henry IV.

HENRY himself, mean time, had been engaged in one of the most perilous of those encounters which distinguish his adventurous career. Having left Biron to continue the blockade of Rouen, he advanced in person, with a detachment of cavalry, to observe the Prince of Parma's movements. One morning, while at the head of about 900 horse, in the neighbourhood of Aumâle, a town on the borders of Normandy and Picardy, he found himself so close to the enemy's main body, then on its march, that he distinctly

1592.
Feb. 7.

* A marked proof of Du Plessis' consummate knowledge of human nature is exhibited at the close of this negotiation. While on his return, he found despatches from the king awaiting him at Gravesend (*Gravesines*), in one of which Henry expressed himself not altogether satisfied with the conduct of the English ambassador in France. "Je ne suis sans soupçon que son Ambassadeur ne m'a fait les bonnes offices que je me promettois de lui, veu le refus qu'il m'a prononcé de la part de ladite Dame." Du Plessis enclosed this letter to the French resident in London, desiring him to show it to Burleigh. "Nonobstant qu'il y feust fait mention de M. Houton (Hatton)... pource qu'on ne nuit jamais à un Ambassadeur de l'avoir pour suspect : ains il en est plus recommandable au Prince de qui il a charge."—Tom. v. p. 164.

heard their drums and trumpets ; and soon afterward, having gained a full reconnoissance, he counted their numbers, amounting to 26,000 men, marshalled in an order which rendered attack hopeless even with a force approaching to equality. Perceiving, as he expressed himself, that his own followers were both too many and too few, he ordered 800 of them to retire and to draw up in a valley at some distance, yet so as to be at hand in case he should be pressed ; and then, to the astonishment of all around him, he rode forward with his remaining one hundred men, to meet the hostile columns. The Prince of Parma, descrying the handful which confronted him, suspected an ambuscade ; and not feeling inclined to hazard a battle, he halted his troops, and employed himself in restraining the ardour which they manifested for combat. His patrols at length convinced him that no larger force than that which he saw was in immediate presence ; and that, even if it were supported, the reserve could not be stationed nearer than in the distant valley. The wary general then permitted an attack, which was made so briskly and from so many different points at once, that the king and his followers were speedily driven back into the valley. The Spaniards, however, still believing that the entire royal army was behind, reined their horses on approaching the gorge, where Henry, confident of support, called out to the troopers whom he expected to find there to make an immediate charge. Not a man, however, was on the spot ; either panic-stricken or in search of more advantageous ground they had retired far beyond ; and the king, thus disappointed, was compelled, as his last chance, to continue his retreat upon Aumâle. The attempt was most hazardous ; for the combat was immediately renewed, and continued hand-to-hand, with sword and pistol, through the whole range of the valley. When the royalists had gained a bridge

its extremity, sixty out of the hundred had fallen. Henry placed himself in the rear of his detachment, saw it defile across the bridge without confusion, and did not move from his own position till every man in the squadron had passed. At that moment, a shot struck him in his reins; but the wound, the only one which he is known to have received in the course of all his campaigns, was fortunately inconsiderable; and the tardy but opportune appearance of the remainder of his horse revived the apprehensions of the over-cautious Farnese, who immediately checked all farther pursuit.*

While Henry was recovering from the hurt suffered in this rash enterprise, which he afterward used to call "the blunder of Aumâle," intelligence of a disastrous sortie from Rouen induced him to raise the siege. It was at that time also that he received from Du Plessis a letter which must have touched him both by its boldness and its loyalty. "Sire," was the remonstrance of that wise and faithful servant, "I do not think that your majesty can ever do me so much good as you have done me ill this day. Every one of your faithful servants has been tortured by apprehensions of fatal consequences from your wound; and as for myself, I have been like one inspecting a map wherein all, except the countries with which we are acquainted, is laid down as a frightful desert and a *terra incognita*. No man, indeed, can look beyond your life, without finding himself enveloped in thick darkness and inconceivable misery. If your majesty fails to understand

* We have chiefly followed Sully's most graphic account of this *Erreur d'Aumâle*. tom. ii. liv. iv. p. 60. He shared in the danger, and he stated that he took particular pains in his narrative to suppress any matters concerning which he felt doubtful. He notices, however, that while himself and his comrades were talking over the events of the day, on the very evening of their occurrence, round the bed of the wounded king, no two of them agreed in the exact details. It is not a little remarkable that D'Aubigné, who relates this engagement minutely, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. c. 14, p. 261, does not at all mention the king's wound.

this for your own sake, you should learn it for that of your servants. We praise God that he has given us, in such times as the present, a warlike monarch; for the state could not maintain itself under a prince skilled only in the cabinet and devoted to sedentary pursuits. Nevertheless, we cannot but wish that if you exceed the ordinary bounds of a king, you would limit yourself within those of a great captain; and that after having played the part of Alexander for thirty years, you would think it time to represent that of Augustus.* For us, sire, to die for your majesty is our true glory; but I must be bold enough to add, that it is not less the duty of your majesty to live on our account.”†

The remaining campaign of 1592 is distinguished in military history by the consummate generalship of the Prince of Parma. The skill with which, although suffering from a painful wound, he dis-

gaged himself from a position at Caudebec, May 20. by remaining in which he must have been compelled to fight at manifest disadvantage, astonished his opponents. Without a bridge, and without means of obtaining boats nearer than Rouen, he transported his whole army across the Seine, in a single night, wholly undiscovered; and when Henry, secure of his prey, rode in the morning to marshal his attack against the camp which he had reconnoitred at the preceding sunset, not a vestige of it was to be descried. “Was it a fable or an illusion!” exclaims Sully; “scarcely one of us could believe the testimony of his eyes!”‡

* “Après avoir fait jusques à trente ans l’Alexandre, les années qui suivent requierent que vous faisies le César.” Augustus is plainly intended here; and we do not hesitate in so translating. But why should the original French be altered in its pretended citation in one of the Notes on the *Henriade*? “Vous avez assez fait Alexandre, il est temps que vous soyez Auguste.”

† The Prince of Parma, when asked his opinion of this retreat from Aumâle, passed a sensible and a most characteristic judgment. “Qu’en effet elle estoit fort belle: mais que pour luy, il ne se mettoit jamais en lieu d’où il fust contrainct de se retirer.”—Perefixe, p. 200.

‡ Tom. II. liv. iv. p. 79.

The Prince of Parma, however, could not regret the necessity which compelled this retreat. It was not possible that much cordiality should exist between confederates who were aiming at objects directly opposed to each other; and the very merits which established Farnese's immeasurable superiority in the field increased the jealousy of the Duke of Mayenne. It was for themselves, he said, and not for their ostensible allies, that the Spaniards had taken arms: it was for their own advantage that they negotiated, everywhere employing their four most powerful engines,—intrigues, promises, gold, and the Jesuits.* Nevertheless, in the negotiations which Mayenne held from time to time with the Spanish agents, no backwardness had been exhibited in sanctioning the application of those very instruments against which he inveighed. The election of the infanta to the French crown was to be secured, in spite of the Salic law, provided she undertook to marry within twelve months, according to the advice of her counsellors of state; and since there was little appearance of discomfiting the heretic *Bearnois* by force of arms, it would be absolutely necessary that the King of Spain should disburse at least eight, or, as it was afterward arranged, ten millions, within two years, "to pacify and to confirm the kingdom, and to reduce it under obedience to his daughter the infanta." There were princes, it was said, governors of provinces, noblemen of both parties, whose *hearts must be gained*, in order that the matter might be properly adjusted in the States-General; and it was plain that this consummation so greatly to be desired could be effected only by a large expenditure of money. The Prince of Parma must have been disgusted by the forward and unblushing venality with which those whom it

* *Lettre de M. Du Plessis, à M. de Buzenval, tom. v. p. 214.*

was his especial mission to corrupt thus tendered themselves to prostitution.*

Fruitless negotiations, in the conduct of which it is probable that none of the parties concerned were sincere, and detached military operations, unproductive of any permanent result, occupied the remainder of this year. It was said that Biron, by greater activity, might have prevented the Prince of Parma's retreat; but that, viewing with apprehension the close of a war from which he derived his chief importance, he angrily rejected a decisive movement proposed by his son, asking him if he were indeed blockhead enough to wish "to plant cabbages at Biron for the rest of his days!"† If this speech were really uttered, he purchased the chance of continued greatness at no less a price than that of life;

for, within three months, he was killed by a cannon-ball, while reconnoitring the out-works of Espernay sur Marne. Biron was in all points a finished soldier; he had risen, not by patronage, but by sheer merit, through each successive degree of military service. Besides having been present at innumerable sieges and engagements, he had held chief command in seven pitched battles; and had received as many gunshot wounds, all of them in front. Nor was he without considerable proficiency in letters also. He wrote Commentaries on his own Times, and a Treatise on the Duties of a Field Marshal, the loss of both which works is poignantly regretted by De Thou, a critic well qualified to appreciate their real value.‡

* *Despêche du Duc de Parme au Roy d'Espagne*. Jan. 1592. Du Plessis, tom. v. p. 137. The Prince of Parma expressly states the above proposition to have emanated from *le President Janin et M. de Chastre, Deputés du Duc de Mayenne à ceste fin*. But since the election of the Infanta was in all points contrary to Mayenne's own personal interests, it is probable that the agents were instructed to temporize and dissemble.

† "Quoy donc, maraut, nous veux-tu envoyer planter des choux à Biron?"—*Perefixe*, p. 197.

‡ *ciii. 6.*

Mayenne, weakened by the retirement of his Spanish auxiliaries, and jealous of his nephew the Duke of Guise, both on account of the superior influence which he had acquired with the league, and of the seeming probability that he would be selected as the husband of the infanta, renewed a negotiation which he had opened with the king, before the abandonment of the siege of Rouen: but his unreasonable preliminary demand of immediate conversion rendered the treaty abortive. Henry was chiefly employed in constructing works to assist a future blockade of Paris;* little concerning himself at the approaching assemblage of the States-General, which Mayenne, after exhausting every subterfuge to procure delay, had been forced to convoke for the ensuing January. The legate (Sega, Cardinal of Placentia), the Spanish ministers, and the rump of the *Seize* eagerly awaited the return of the Duke of Parma, the presence of whose army could not but greatly influence the election of the infanta; but their hopes were frustrated by his death, Dec. 2.

at Arras, while he was preparing to enter France for the third time. The wound which he had received at Caudebec, having been neglected during his subsequent active movements, produced dropsical symptoms in a constitution naturally weak, and brought him to the grave at the premature age of forty-seven years.†

During the negotiations in which Henry had been recently engaged, he could not fail to perceive that the majority of the league was well inclined to

* One of these forts, on the Isle de Gournay, intended to prevent the conveyance of supplies to the capital by the Marne, received the name of *Pille-badaud*.—Cayet. *Chron. Nov.* tom. ii. p. 72; for which pleasantry our language does not furnish an equivalent. "*Badaud* and *Badaude*," say some of the dictionaries very gravely, "are nicknames given to the inhabitants of Paris, because they are apt to admire any thing that seems a little extraordinary." *Cockney*, although not a synonyme, is perhaps the most analogous word. In the *Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 155, the name is given *Bride-badaud*.

† De Thou, civ. 3.

peace; and it is probable that the insight thus obtained by him into the real state of parties first directed his thoughts seriously towards his subsequent great change. His education, his personal habits, and the evil temper of the times in which he lived were equally adverse to any deeply rooted and spiritual attachment to the Reformed faith. For above half a century, indeed, religion had been the watchword of conflicting factions, but in how few instances was more than the name to be found among the leaders by whom it had been adopted! It cannot be dissembled that the civil wars in France had arisen out of the mutual jealousy of the houses of Bourbon and of Lorraine; that they had been continued by the increasing ambition of the Guises; and that, during their progress, each of the competitors had derived strength by assuming the patronage of a rival church.* Difference of faith, however, had been prominently advanced as the real motive of contest; and, doubtless, many of those who fought and suffered, who laid down their lives on the field of battle or on the scaffold, were animated by sincere conviction of the truth of that cause which they had espoused. But, after all, the struggle was essentially for political superiority. Hitherto, the *King of Navarre* had enjoyed, as protector of the Reformed Church, a lofty station and a paramount influence among one division of his countrymen, of which he must have been for ever deprived by conformity to the Romish religion. Apostacy would have exposed him to the hatred

* "Le bien public estoit le charme et ensorcellement qui bouschoit l'oreille à nos predecesseurs: mais l'ambition et la vengeance de ces deux grandes maisons en estoit la vraye et primitive cause, comme la fin le decouvrit. Aussi vous ay-je deduit que premièrement la jalousie et envie de ces deux maisons de Bourbon et de Lorraine, puis la seule ambition et convoitise de ceux de Guyse, ont esté et sont la seule cause de tous nos maux. Mais la Religion Catholique et Romaine est le breuvage qui nous infatuë et endort, comme une opiate bien sucrée."—*Harangue de M. d'Aubray. Sat. Men. tom. i. p. 161.*

of those whom he abandoned, to the scorn of those whom he espoused. But, as *King of France*, every temporal motive which heretofore prompted and corroborated his firmness now allured him to change. A life passed in rapid alternations of peril and of pleasure afforded few intervals for graver thought; and it is little to be supposed that religion had at any time been his *study*. No one, perhaps, was ever less influenced by fear than was Henry of Navarre; yet we have seen him during the horrors of the St. Bartholomew (when the example of his fellow-prisoner, the Prince of Condé, might have taught him greater constancy), consenting to abjuration with a facility which can be attributed only to the most careless indifference. In his present circumstances, too rapid a transition would have been injurious to the reputation which above all things it was necessary that he should preserve; but we may believe that when he first consented to admit "instruction," he had already conquered every private scruple; and that he fully resolved upon his ultimate course, when he now discovered that such a course would dissipate the sole obstacles to his recognition by the party which predominated among his opponents.

Sully, indeed, as is well known, claims to himself the dubious merit of having first awakened in Henry's mind the train of thought which occasioned his change of sentiment; and Sully no doubt honestly believed all that he so affirmed. But it is little likely that the circumstances which had convinced that sagacious statesman of the policy of such a measure, should have escaped the equally penetrating observation of Henry. The crisis, probably, excited in each of them a similar and nearly a simultaneous persuasion; and when the subject was broken to him by Sully, the king might think it unnecessary to reveal, or rather might gladly dis-

semble, how fully his own previous reflections had prepared him for the discussion.*

Before the assembling of the States-General in Paris (the spot which by Mayenne's desire
 October. had been appointed for that purpose in preference to Rheims, a city altogether under Spanish influence), an attempt had been made by the Romanists in Henry's service to open a communication with the Vatican, and to notify the king's readiness to be "instructed." The new pope, Clement VIII., actuated by feelings similar to those which had operated upon his immediate predecessor, at first refused audience to the Cardinal of Gondi and the Marquis di Pisani, who were employed as negotiators. But their mission, although unfaithfully executed by the former,† produced favourable results in the end. When the day of the meeting of the states was at hand, Mayenne published a declaration, justifying the course of the league, inveighing against the recognition of a heretic king, and inviting the Romanist leaders to quit Henry's camp, in order to join in the deliberations upon which, as he cautiously expressed himself, the states were about to enter for the attainment of public tranquillity. A far more vehement letter was addressed to them by the legate, who concluded by openly asserting the necessity of proceeding to the immediate election of "a true Christian and Catholic king." Henry, in reply, controverted the arguments of both these papers; protested against the states as altogether illegal; and pronounced, by anticipation, any decree which might issue from them to be utterly null and invalid.‡

The proceedings of this assembly, when it did

* The account given by Sully of his interception of the despatches addressed by the leaguers to the King of Spain, and the consequent representations which he made to Henry, and which, as he believed, occasioned the king's conversion, are among the most curious parts of that great man's *Memoires*. tom. ii. liv. v. p. 114.

† *Remarques sur La Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. p. 121.

‡ *De Thou*, cv. 11, 12, 14.

meet, were trifling and nugatory ; and they have attained a celebrity of which in themselves they were undeserving, from their exposure in a most poignant and agreeable satire. The *Satyre Menippée*, the joint production of some of the ablest and most polite writers of the time, contributed greatly to Henry's advantage at the moment of its publication,* by exposing his enemies to keen and searching ridicule ; and from its perusal, together with that of the copious illustrations with which it has been enriched, a far more intimate knowledge of the perplexed intrigues which it exposes may even now be derived than can be obtained from any graver sources. Whatever difficulty we at first encounter in the full perception of its many fine strokes of personal humour will wear away as we become familiarized with the characters of the drama before us ; and we shall gradually be compelled to acknowledge the unrivalled triumph which wit has achieved in its pages, by imparting a general and permanent interest to a work dictated by party feeling, and addressed to a temporary purpose.

The deputies assembled, with the customary formalities, in the great hall of the Louvre, on the 26th of January. The Duke of Mayenne, as lieutenant-general of the state, appeared seated on a dais, under a canopy of cloth of gold ; the clergy were numerous, the nobles few ; and in order to atone for their scantiness, and to enhance his apparent authority, Mayenne exercised the royal prerogative by creating four *maréchals* of France ;† “Bastards, who,” as he was truly and pointedly warned by the *Sieur de Chauvallon*, “would one day legitimate themselves at his cost

1593.
Jan. 26.

* The first edition of the *Satyre Menippée* bears the date of 1593, towards the close of which year it was probably commenced ; but Voltaire has argued, from internal evidence, that it could not have been published till 1594, after the king's abjuration.--*Mélanges Histor.* Art. xvi.

† The *Sieurs de Chastre, de Boisdapphin, Roanne, and St. Paul.*

and charge.”* The speakers were Mayenne himself, who briefly announced the object of the convention; the Cardinal of Pellevé, for the clergy; the Baron of Senneſay, for the noblesſe,† and the Sieur de Laurens, advocate-general of the parliament of Provence, for the *Tiers-Eſt*.

It is this firſt day’s meeting which is recorded in the *Satyre Menippée*. After an introductory account of the legate and the Cardinal Pellevé, who are repreſented as two charlatans, one a Spaniard, the other a Lorrainer, diſpenſing the *Catholicon* (a drug, the marvellous virtues of which are fully expounded, and which may be interpreted as pretended zeal for religion), the muſter of the monks, which really occurred at the public entrance of Caietano, is deſcribed, as if it were preliminary to the opening of the ſtates. The furniture and arrangement of the hall of aſſembly, the dreſſes and demeanour of the chief aſſiſtants, among whom the Duchess of Montpenſier and other notorious female leaguers are admitted, and the ſettlement of precedence among the deputies, afford room for many touches of playfulness. It was only this germ of the larger work which was originally published; and it was written by Pierre le Roy,‡ a canon of Rouen, and almoner to the young Cardinal of Bourbon. The avidity with which his *brochure* was read and circulated ſoon engaged ſeveral friends to aſſiſt in its expansion. Gillot, an advocate of whom little elſe is known,§ contributed the ſhort ſpeech of the legate. That of the Cardinal Pellevé is the production of Florent Chrétien, a gentleman of Orleans, to whoſe care the education of Henry of Navarre was intruſted, when the death of his father permitted the

* Sully, tom. ii. liv. v. p. 152, note.

† He had executed a ſimilar function with great eloquence at the ſtates of Blois in 1588. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 284.

‡ De Thou, cv. 18.

§ We ſhall find him mentioned by-and-by in a remarkable tranſaction with the Jeſuit Cotton, confeſſor to Henry IV.

substitution of a Huguenot for a Romanist preceptor. Chrétien was a scholar of very extensive attainments, and his powers of satire had already been exhibited to advantage in a quarrel with the poet Ronsard,* an antagonist of no mean repute. The Cardinal of Pellevé afforded many vulnerable points to a skilful assailant, and none of them was neglected. At the council of Trent he had declared himself in unmeasured terms against the liberties of the Gallican Church ; he had been the chief promoter of the excommunication which Sixtus V. directed against the Bourbon princes ; and now, in the states, he was among the most active supporters of the faction of Lorraine. His lack of learning fairly exposed him to attack ; and accordingly, when the herald Courtejoye St. Denys marshals him in his place, it is in terms sufficiently indicative of contempt. " Take your seat, M. le Cardinal, and be careful not to forget your calepin."† The unfortunate postponement of a single day had in reality been attended with fatal consequences to the harangue which the cardinal had long premeditated. The meeting, at first appointed for the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, was delayed, on account of Mayenne's indisposition,‡ to the martyrdom of Policarp on the following morning ; and an attempt made by the unhappy orator to apply the materials which he had collected in allusion to one festival to the purposes of another, of a wholly different nature, raised a smile in the assembly.§ It is probable that he was verging to superannuation, for, before his conclusion, he became entangled in certain most inopportune allusions to the Duke of Mayenne ; which, remote as they were

* Under the name of Francois de la Baronnie. See the *Eloge* of Chrétien, De Thou, cxvii. 9.

† *Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 27.

‡ *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 260.

§ *Satyre Menippée*, tom. i. p. 57. De Thou, cv. 18.

from the intention of the speaker, were at once applied by all his hearers, and could not be otherwise than most offensive to their object. It need not be added that the satirist has abundantly profited by the openings thus afforded to him.

Espinac, Archbishop of Lyons, and Roze, Bishop of Senlis were ecclesiastics too conspicuous both for their fanaticism and their immorality to pass unnoticed; and characteristic speeches were accordingly written under their names by Nicolas Rapin, to whom are ascribed all the pieces of verse interspersed in the course of the *Satyre*. The oration for the noblesse is placed in the mouth of the Sieur de Rieux, a low-born partisan of the league, who, having rendered himself useful by some acts of extraordinary daring, and infamous by his unparalleled cruelties, was hanged not long afterward as a brigand.* But the most elaborate portion of the whole work is the speech of M. Claude d'Aubray, the imaginary orator of the *Tiers-Etat*. Aubray was well selected for this purpose; he had filled the high civic office of provost of the merchants, and he was deservedly regarded as chief of the *Politiques*. His speech is of a severer cast and of a much more considerable length than any of the others; and we know not where to find a more just and more perspicuous sketch of the history of the civil wars from their commencement. It was written by Pithou, a Huguenot, who had narrowly escaped during the St. Bartholomew, and who, notwithstanding his subsequent conformity to the Romish faith, rendered essential service to the Reformed cause by his strenuous opposition to the league. De Thou, who was intimately connected with this eminent man, speaks of him in terms of strong attachment and admiration, as the most finished scholar of his day; and as no

* *Remarques sur La Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. p. 237. De Thou, cv. 18.

less remarkable for probity and piety, than for rare gifts of intellect, and variety and accuracy of knowledge.*

Two days after the first meeting of the states, the Romanist leaders in Henry's service proposed a conference with the deputies, "well knowing," as they said, "the good and holy intentions of his majesty, having received from him a promise, and feeling assured that they could provide a remedy for the national calamities." The Spanish faction, struck with consternation

Jan. 28.

at this unexpected overture, pronounced the offer to be heretical, blasphemous, and full of rebellion against the Church; and obtained a decree to that effect from their puppets in the Sorbonne. But the states were far from proceeding with equal violence. They resolved, indeed, that they would not treat either directly or indirectly with the King of Navarre, or with any other heretic, upon either politics or religion; but, as a middle term, they agreed to the propriety of conferring with their brother Catholics belonging to his party, on matters connected with politics, with religion, with the national welfare, and with their reunion to the Church. They determined, therefore, that after a reference to the legate, they would return an answer couched in the mildest and most gracious language; provided always, that both in that answer and in any conference which might succeed, especial care should be taken to maintain the reasons upon which they were firmly resolved never to acknowledge any heretic as king.†

Feb. 19.

* cxvii. 9. Pithou, who was a Doctor of Laws in the universities of Louvaine and Bourges, was incorporated *ad eundem* at Oxford, in June, 1572. Fuller describes him as "at this time a sojourner in Oxford, where he continued for some years for the sake of study and converse, and afterward became famous for his exact knowledge in all antiquities, ecclesiastical history, law, &c. All the great men of his time did make honourable mention of him in their respective works; and some did dedicate their writings to him and his brother, Francis Pithæus, as the lights of France."—*Fasti Oxonienses*, part i. p. 190.

† *De Thou*, cv. 15, 16.

The Duke of Mayenne, relying more upon success in the field than in the cabinet, and having instructed his agents to delay the final resolutions of the states

as long as possible, quitted Paris, and undertook the siege of Noyon. Notwithstanding his success before that town, and the arrival of the Duke of Feria as plenipotentiary from Spain, to urge afresh the immediate election of a Catholic king, commissioners were named both by the states and by the royalists, to manage the proposed conference. The village of Surenne, on the western bank of the Seine, was chosen as the spot on which it should take place; and a prosperous omen was drawn by the league from an accident which determined the assignment of quarters. A crown-piece, tossed up to decide the priority of choice, fell with that side uppermost upon which was stamped a cross, and gave the commissioners of the league that moiety of Surenne in which the church was situated. No presage, it was affirmed, could be more auspicious to that holy union which arrogated to itself exclusive belief both in the cross and in the church.*

The conference opened on the 29th of April, and the main arguments employed on that April 29. and the following sittings are transmitted to us with considerable minuteness by De Thou,† himself one of the deputies on the part of the royalists. After mutual professions of a sincere desire of amity, Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges, as chief spokesman in behalf of the king's servants, urged that the attainment of peace would be impossible till a legitimate sovereign authority should be established; and that it was idle to look for a legitimate king elsewhere than in that royal line which could trace itself incontrovertibly to St. Louis. All

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 319.

† cvi. 1. See also Cayet, *Chron. Novenaire*, tom. ii. liv. v. p. 149, &c.

authority being derived from God, submission might be tendered with a safe conscience to a prince who, notwithstanding certain mistakes, was, nevertheless, essentially a Christian. Let but such a prince be taught that his nobles warred not against his person, but against his errors; and the common agreement of all parties would soon produce security for religion and a firm basis for pacification.

The Archbishop of Lyons commenced his reply by agreeing to the necessity of a determinate sovereign authority, but he contended that even such an authority would be useless towards the restoration of peace, without previous concord in religion. He then rebutted an application which had been made by his antagonist, of St. Paul's precept of obedience to rulers even if they were evil. The divine law, he said, rejected the authority of any king who might lead the people back again to the idolatry of Egypt. Hence, indeed, had arisen the revolts from Jeroboam and from Jehoram; hence Amaziah, after he had fallen away from righteousness, was slain at Lachish; hence queen Athaliah was deposed and put to a merited death by Jehoiada the priest. He next fortified himself by the decrees of councils. That of Lateran, under Innocent III., which enjoined the persecution of heretics, even unto death; and absolved all subjects from their allegiance to princes who should refuse to become tools of ecclesiastical vengeance, was so fully admitted by the kings of France, as to form a portion of their coronation oath; and had indeed received farther confirmation from the fourth council of Toledo. To the sanction of the divine law might be added the usage of antiquity, and the example of the early Christians. The resistance of Matathias and the Maccabees to Antiochus; the revolts from Licinius and Maxentius, both deservedly put to death by Constantine; the opposition raised by Constans to his brother Constantius, when, infected by the pesti-

lence of Arianism, he had consented to the deposition of Athanasius ; and the vehement language employed by the fathers against heretic princes, were cited as so many testimonies in favour of the orator's position. Did not those eloquent writers stigmatize apostate rulers as wolves, dogs, serpents, tigers, ravening lions, and antichrists ? Not to speak of the Testament of St. Rémy, and of yet more ancient sanctions, the oath by which the kings of France bound themselves at their *Sacré*, peremptorily excluded any but a Catholic from the throne. Passing on to later times, in order to exhibit the danger of submission to princes alien from the national religion, he deplored the schism in England under Henry VIII. ; the facility with which his son Edward VI. eradicated the true church from his dominions ; and even after the short restoration which Mary effected, the rapidity with which her sister Elizabeth had overthrown that pious work. In like manner, the necessity of caution was evinced by the recent alternations of Lutheranism and Calvinism in Saxony. Legitimacy of succession, he urged, did not wholly depend upon descent ; and kings, unless appointed by God and *approved by his vicars and ministers*, were not to be esteemed legitimate. Could it be supposed that if St. Louis were to rise from the grave, he would acknowledge as his genuine lineage those who sought to exterminate the religion which it had been the chief object of his existence to assert ? Espinac concluded by allusions to the former conversion and relapse of the king of Navarre ; and particularized numerous transactions of late occurrence, which took away all confidence in his sincerity on matters of religion. In the words of Moses, therefore, he exhorted his brethren that they " should depart from the tents of those wicked men, and touch nothing of them lest they be consumed in all their sins."⁶

* De Thea, cvi. 3.

After a short pause and some consultation with his assessors, the Archbishop of Bourges answered the several heads of his opponent's speech. He produced Nebuchadnezzar as a king sanctioned by God, and triumphant over Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, notwithstanding that he differed in religion from the Israelites. But King Henry, he said, was far from being addicted to the idolatry of Nebuchadnezzar or of the Gentiles. Moreover, instead of being an elective prince, he was of royal blood, and inherited the throne through a direct and unbroken lineage. For his errors, which there was daily more and more hope that he would abandon, much excuse might be pleaded. He had been educated in them; and, like St. Paul, he sinned from ignorance. He was not an inventor of false doctrine, but he had imbibed it with his mother's milk. He was scarcely, indeed, to be deemed a heretic, for he sought the truth with earnestness, and was prepared to adopt it as soon as it should be discovered. Abstinence from all intercourse with heretics might be practicable in the apostolic times, when Christians were few in number; but now, when Christianity pervaded all Europe, and sectaries were everywhere numerous, he who resolved not to mix with them in society, must resolve, at the same time, altogether to quit the world. Christ himself had not refused to converse with publicans and sinners. In sacred history no rebellion was authorized by God, even against idolatrous kings. On the contrary, the prophets, when rebuking their unrighteousness most bitterly, continued to abide by, and to assist them with prayer and counsel: thus Elijah was ever with Ahab, unless when it had become necessary that he should hide himself for a season from the fury of Jezebel. Here, again, the speaker took especial pains that he should not be misunderstood as comparing Henry with Ahab or with Jezebel. The rebellion against Amaziah was not undertaken on account of religion.

and, indeed, the death of that prince was compensated in some degree by his interment in the tomb of his fathers, and by the succession of his son Ozias in his stead. The troubles in the reign of Rehoboam arose from his tyranny, not from his idolatry. Antiochus was a foreigner and an invader; not a lawful and natural sovereign. Did not Christ himself, together with his blessed Mother, enrol his name in the census of the pagan Augustus? Did he not pay tribute to Cæsar, both for himself and for St. Peter? Did he not command that the things which are Cæsar's should be rendered to Cæsar, as expressly as those of God to God? Did he not avow that Pilate could not have power over him, unless it proceeded from above? The calumny against Athanasius was sufficiently refuted by that great father's own *apology*; and the humility with which he yielded to the decree of Constantine, submitting himself to banishment, when he might have roused the whole orthodox population in his behalf, was an ample test of the sincerity of his principles. This spirit of passive obedience was farther illustrated by numerous similar examples during the rage of the Arian controversy; and the research of the learned prelate was displayed by his intimate acquaintance with the actions of Felix, Anastasius, Symmachus, Ormisdas, Agapetus, and Silverius. The council of Toledo was said to be imperative on kings of Spain, but by no means so on those of France; the decrees of the council of Lateran were received so far as they regarded doctrine, but not as they affected the temporal power of princes; respecting which they admitted of considerable explanation and modification. Then, earnestly deprecating any reference to the turbulent meeting of the states at Blois, in the transactions of which most unhappy assembly he himself had participated, the archbishop showed that the great numerical superiority which the Catholics possessed in France rendered the case

of England an unfair parallel. Finally, he prayed all his brethren to exhort the king to embrace a better creed; and to lend their powerful influence to remove the obstacles which Pisani was encountering in his embassy at Rome.

This long debate had consumed the entire day; and a paroxysm of the gout having attacked the Archbishop of Lyons, it was not until the following afternoon that the commission- April 30.
ers renewed their discussion, round the couch from which the invalid was unable to rise. It would be tedious to pursue the subtilties in which the course of argument derived from Scripture was again involved. Futile as were most of the reasonings by which the *jus divinum* was either supported or attacked, they formed the received wisdom of the time; nor indeed will they suffer by comparison with much that was written and spoken among ourselves on the same idle question nearly a century later. We have noticed them, as characteristic of the age to which they belong, not as possessing any intrinsic value; and the specimens already given may be more than sufficient. The only really important portion of Espinac's reply, was an assurance that no interference would be attempted with Pisani's mission, but that the pope would be left without solicitation to decide according to his own judgment.

The Archbishop of Bourges, in answer, chiefly confined himself to a bold declaration of his estimate of the pontifical authority. Professing that he kissed the feet of the holy father with all due sentiments of humility, he could not but regret that the see of Rome had lent itself so entirely to the projects of Spain. The mildness exhibited of old by Anastasius towards Justin, and by John towards Justinian when he sought to reclaim him from the Eutychian heresy, was far more worthy of imitation than the severity which had disjointed England and Hungary from the Catholic communion. But there

were hopes that the reigning pope would show himself a common parent to all his children, and would manifest to France, in particular, who so well deserved his affection, a favour similar to that which had flowed from many of his predecessors. Then, having instituted a comparison between Henry, now in the vigour of manhood, and Philip of Spain, effete with age,* and having asked upon which prince the more firm reliance might be placed, he vehemently recommended the dismissal of all factious verbal controversy, and an immediate entrance upon the plain business of negotiation. A somewhat tumultuous debate ensued, in which the immunities of the Gallican Church were respectively affirmed or denied by other speakers; and the sitting terminated without adopting any effective course of action. In a meeting held four days afterward, the commissioners resolved upon an adjournment for a short time, during which each party might receive fuller instructions from its superiors.

This interval was employed by the ultra-leaguers in attempts to awaken popular excitement; and the

May 12. legate headed a procession, in which he was followed not only by a large train of barefooted ecclesiastics, carrying the relics of numerous martyrs, but by thirteen counsellors of the parliament, attired in their scarlet robes, who supported on their shoulders the bier of St. Louis.* The Cardinal Pelievé celebrated mass; and Boucher who was chosen to preach, indulged in more than former violence, choosing his text from the lxxixth Psalm, "Take me out of the mire." He punned, in

* The Cardinal d'Ossat has described Philip's decrepitude in a few strong words: "Étant lui-même en sa personne vieux, cassé et moribond, inhabile à toutes factions de guerre et à toute sorte de travail, soit de corps ou d'esprit." *Lettres*, tom. i. p. 257. A letter written by D'Ossat to Pisani, containing remarks upon the impolicy of Clement's delay in the negotiation then pending, occasioned the first introduction of the future cardinal and able diplomatist to Henry IV. *Id.* 226.

† *Cayet. Chron. Novenn.* tom. ii. liv. v. p. 236.

a most unseemly guise, on the original expression, rendered into French, "*Delivre-moy, Seigneur, de la Bourbe*," as if David had prophetically addressed himself against the heretical family of *Bourbon*.^{*} This appeal to the passions of the mob accelerated Henry's decision; and he at length officially notified that the time was arrived at which May 12.

he would fulfil his promise of submitting himself to "instruction" concerning the disputes which had occasioned schism in the church; and for that purpose he invited a certain number of Catholic prelates and doctors to attend him at Mantes on the 15th of the following July.[†]

Copies of this unexpected declaration were busily circulated through Paris, and not a moment was lost by the Spaniards in endeavouring to counteract the powerful effects which it was to be feared they might produce. The Duke of Feria at once proposed to a committee of the states the election of the May 20. *infanta* as queen, a design which had been hitherto only whispered; and this open avowal of an intended breach of the Salic law occasioned a burst of passion from the Bishop of Senlis, which disconcerted the more politic reserve of Mayenne. Roze declared his conviction that the royalist had judged correctly from the beginning, in affirming that Spain was prompted to embark in this war, not by religious zeal, but by ambition; adding, that if the French, who, following the example of the Jews, had excluded women from the throne for 1200 years, once allowed

^{*} *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 339. *Le Grain. Decade de Henri le Grand*, liv. iii. p. 237. Arnaud, in his *Plaidoyer* against the Jesuits in 1594, ascribes this blasphemy to Commelet, but the evidence seems to preponderate against Boucher. It may be remarked, in passing, that the celebrated Baths of Bourbon do not derive their name, as might be supposed, from the medicinal qualities of these *Bourbes*. Menage, in his *Orig. Franc.* sufficiently proves that they were called *Aquæ Bormonis* in the time of Theodosius.

[†] This Circular is printed in the *Mem. de la Ligue*, tom. v. p. 380, and in a note on the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 343.

their crown to encircle female brows, the kingdom itself would soon be transferred to foreign domination. The Spanish duke, as may be supposed, manifested great surprise and chagrin at this unseasonable interruption; and Mayenne excused it, by confessing that the Bishop of Senlis was subject to occasional paroxysms of mental aberration, during which he knew not what he uttered, and committed many blunders, occasioning shame and repentance in moments of returning sanity.*

The coldness, however, with which Feria's proposition had been received, and the little sensation created by a subsequent threat of the legate's departure, induced the Spaniards to attempt conciliation; and they first expressed their master's willingness that the infanta might choose a husband among the French princes, those of Lorraine included. The three candidates thus admitted for her hand was the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Bourbon, provided he could obtain a dispensation, and Mayenne's half-brother, the Duke of Nemours. But national feeling was now strongly aroused, and the parliament of Paris at length broke silence by a decisive *arrêt*.† It instructed the president, Le Martin, to remonstrate with the Duke of Mayenne against any alienation of the crown to a foreign prince or princess; to urge upon him the maintenance of the fundamental laws of the state, and an immediate election of a king who should be a Catholic and a Frenchman; declaring that any treaty which might be made to any other effect would be utterly null, as contradictory to the Salic law. Yet further to diminish the hopes of Spain, intelligence was received at the same time that Henry had made an important conquest. The Leaguers had unad-

* De Thou, cvi. 10. *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 348.

† It is printed in the *Mém. et Corresp. de Du Plessis-Mornay*, tom. v. p. 475.

visedly refused to agree to a truce during the negotiation at Surenne ; and although the conference in that village had been broken up May 29. for some weeks past, meetings for a similar purpose were continually renewed in other places. Still, however, unless in the immediate vicinity of the spot at which the commissioners chanced to assemble, there was no suspension of hostilities. The king perceived that his reputation demanded some feat of arms ; and more with the hope of influencing the pending discussion, than with any intention of seriously prosecuting the war, he undertook the investment of Dreux, one of the chief entrepôts of the capital. The town itself surrendered in fifteen days ; and the activity of Sully and the skill of some English miners not long afterward won the citadel also.*

On the arrival of this news, the Duke of Feria, as his last chance, announced to the states that he was instructed to propose the Duke of Guise specifically as husband to the infanta. Mayenne, deceived by a too confident belief that this was but a prompt expedient to meet the immediate exigency, and that the ambassador was unprepared with any document by which he could support his bold proposition, returned thanks for the honour thus designed to his family, and accepted the alliance for his nephew, whenever Feria should be fully authorized to propose it. To his unspeakable mortification and astonishment, the envoy produced the sign-manual of King Philip, ratifying the offer. The moment was most trying, and required no small effort of self-possession ; but Mayenne, a veteran in dissimulation, wore a smile of seeming joy, and undertook to communicate to the States-General the proposition so gratifying to him-

* The transactions at Dreux are related by Sully, tom. ii. liv. v. p. 175. Henry's autograph letter to Du Plessis, announcing the capture and summoning him to his camp, is a very favourable specimen of his style. *Mém. et Corr.* tom. v. p. 466.

self. It is said, that on the first announcement of this intelligence, three only of the many courtiers who had hitherto thronged the audience of the lieutenant, continued their demonstrations of service. The remainder hastened to the footstool of Guise, in whose hands they already pictured the sceptre.* In this extremity, Mayenne dexterously awakened the fears of the states so far as to induce them to postpone the election which he dreaded. He dwelt upon the necessity of having ample funds and a numerous army to support their new king; he showed the policy of waiting till the promised troops and treasure could be despatched from Spain; and above all, he impressed upon them that it would be most inopportune to render Henry desperate, at the very moment in which he had gained strength by the recent conquest of Dreux; and would soon, probably, draw a large reinforcement from the ranks of the Catholics themselves, by his pretended conversion, which was now evidently at hand.†

The feelings entertained at this season by the Huguenots, as their eyes unwillingly opened to Henry's approaching desertion, are depicted in a lively manner by many passages in the correspondence of Du Plessis. Before the opening of the conference at Surenne, that great and honest statesman expressed himself as entertaining little hope of a successful result, while the Catholics avowed that they would not treat "with, for, or of a heretic." "Since it is the king they mean, to what purpose

* De Thou, cvii. 3.

† The proposition of the Duke of Guise, as husband to the infant, is assigned by the *Journal de Henri IV.* to the 14th of July. Yet Henry writes as follows to Du Plessis, *de sa propre main*, on the 25th of June. The letter is dated from Dreux, the citadel of which had not at that time surrendered. "Les Espagnols ont fait des offres si grandes que les ennemis y ont presté l'oreille. Ils ne demandent seulement que l'on élise le Duc de Guise, et qu'il épouse la fille d'Espagne, de quoi le Duc de Mayenne semble avoir quelque jalousie." Tom. v. p. 465. The intentions of the Spaniards were therefore reported three weeks before they made the official proposal, and Mayenne's blind confidence is not a little surprising.

can be their meeting ?”* At that moment, although sorrowing over his master’s licentiousness, he does not appear to have contemplated his apostacy. “Our king,” he writes to a confidential friend, “is still the same in matters of religion—the same, also, on the other hand, as regards his pleasures; it is consolatory to me to find that he is not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but it is most afflicting when I see that he dishonours its profession.”† But the deep tone of feeling which pervades a letter addressed to the king himself, on the day before the issue of the circular which summoned the prelates to his “instruction,” speaks the full awakening of Du Plessis’ fears. “I am not ignorant of the troubles to which your majesty finds yourself exposed, for I have always foreseen them. The first thing requisite (let me entreat your majesty to pardon my freedom), is to pour out the soul in contrition before God; against whose wrath neither the wisdom nor the strength of man can afford succour. The next thing, after having done our utmost, is to trust ourselves with confidence to his hands, well assured that no human conspiracy can avail against his blessing. Fortified by such resolves, you need not doubt, sire, that means of success will ever fail; since they are inexhaustible with God, who will be on your side, and since you will find a number of faithful servants prepared to abide by you through every storm and at every disadvantage. Above all, sire, you will have but men to combat: and you will have made your peace with God, who also can give you peace with men. May it please your majesty to receive this letter as proceeding from the very bottom of my heart, from which I implore the Creator to comfort and counsel you with his Holy Spirit, to his glory and to your own salvation.”‡

* Tom. v. p. 395, 407

† *Ibid.* p. 400. So also M Dumasurier, when writing to Du Plessis, employs an allusion not to be mistaken. *Cependant dum Hercule totum inservit Omphale les monstres refaisoient devant lui.* p. 411.

‡ Tom. v. p. 416.

A few days later, after Henry's intentions were avowed, Du Plessis writes in terms of very passionate grief to numerous correspondents. "It is on our tears," he exclaims to one friend, "that I now place my reliance. Even if he can forget God, God, I trust, will not forget him."* "You will be overcome by the intelligence which now reaches you," are his words to De Calignon, the Chancellor of Navarre, "but we must lift up our hearts to God, and entreat him to give back his grace with manifest increase to the king."† To Henry himself he writes with not less openness than before, "I am well assured, whatever may be said, that your majesty can never forget the blessings which the Almighty has bestowed upon you; and I feel yet stronger assurance that that God, who held you in mind even before your birth, will not now cast you out of His remembrance. If you summon this conference with a view to the discovery of truth, you will permit the truth to be defended; and you will invite persons who are competent to its defence. If you act otherwise, sire, all men will say that you are engaging in no more than a mere formality, having previously determined to surrender. Such an imputation, however, is incredible, when advanced against the greatest prince of our times, and especially against one who has acknowledged the hand of God raised so often in his behalf. Bear in mind, sire, that all those who heretofore have been your comrades in arms, on the field of battle, are now arrayed as an army before God in prayer, that He may be pleased to comfort you and to verify those words of the Apostle, that *'His gifts and calling are without repentance.'*‡ For myself, I confidently deny the charges now made against you; and I humbly beseech the Almighty that he will grant you a measure of his Spirit according to the temptation by which you are assailed;

* Tom. v. p. 424.

† Ibid. p. 425, and see also p. 432.

‡ Romans xi. 29.

so that you may overcome to his glory, to your own salvation, and to the edification of your people.”*

Du Plessis' first impulse strongly prompted him to convert the proposed assembly at Mantes into an arena for controversy between the two churches. For that purpose, he suggested to the Duke de Bouillon, now by far the most powerful leader among the Huguenots, that fitting personages should be summoned from all the provinces, by whom the light should be made to shine forth amid darkness. He urged also, that ambassadors should be procured from the chief Reformed states; from England, the Netherlands, the German princes, the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and the Genevans. “It would be well,” he added, “that each ambassador should be accompanied by some able divines, provided they are not Lutherans, for *they* would only sow tares.”† Junius appeared to him well calculated to act as deputy on this occasion from the United Provinces; and Whitaker or Rainolds from England. No two theologians of their time had acquired a more just or a more extensive reputation than the last mentioned great scholars; and the former had been already pronounced by Bellarmine, an antagonist whose praise was well worth receiving, to be the most learned of heretics.‡ Du Plessis farther requested M. de Lomenie, Henry's private secretary, to ascertain the king's precise object; for if he wished the truth to be defended, champions sufficiently able could be produced to cover the face

* Tom. v. p. 426.

† *Ibid.* p. 429.

‡ Junius, as the name Du Jon has been Latinized, was a native of France, and was appointed Divinity Professor at Leyden in 1592. Rainolds had been selected by Sir Francis Walsingham to fill the Divinity Professorship which he founded at Oxford in 1586; and during the year now under consideration, 1593, he was preferred to the Deanery of Lincoln; a dignity which he afterward exchanged for the Mastership of Corpus Christi College. Whitaker was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1570, and afterward became Master of St. John's College. De Thou passes a high encomium upon him when relating his death in 1596. cxliii. 10.

of their enemies with shame. "Nothing, he concludes, "shall tempt me to be present at an inequitable contest; one in which the utmost resistance must be unavailing, and in which the only course remaining to us will be to yield with dishonour; but if the combat for truth is to be maintained in earnest, then I will come and bring with me a front of brass: so that, with God's aid, all men may perceive that those who fear him have not any thing else which they need fear."*

Some change of resolution is expressed in circular letters which Du Plessis wrote a fortnight later, to various Huguenot ministers;† and especially in a memorial which he presented at the same time to the king. In that paper, he states his belief that Henry by no means requires the presence of the Reformed clergy at Mantes, in order that they may dispute with the Romanist bishops; and he assigns reasons for this opinion with no little ingenuousness. First, a fear may be entertained of the prevalence of truth; secondly, the pope's displeasure may be excited, and excommunication would be the certain result; thirdly, it might be dangerous for the ministers to enter into controversy, when the king has already made up his mind to abandon their cause. Still he approves of their attendance. Their presence, he says, must awaken emotions in the king's mind, which even if not sufficient to prevent his change, may incline him to grant more liberal guarantees for the safety of the church; moreover, unless there are ministers of fit capacity about the king, the bishops will no doubt profit by the weakness of those in attendance; and under the pretext of satisfying the royal conscience, will draw them into a controversy for the support of which the Reformed may prove unequal. On the other hand, the Romanists will not dare to speak, if they find arrayed

* Tom. v. p. 430.

† *Ibid.* p. 443.

against them persons who they well know can answer. He then points out certain stipulations for which he is anxious ; that the Huguenot service may be celebrated, if not in the interior of towns, at least in their faubourgs ; that ministers may be retained in the court and in the royal armies ; since the present refusal of the rites of sepulture to those who die in the camp and in the very presence of the king, is a most insupportable grievance ; and lastly, that a fixed stipend may be assigned in each province for the support of ministers, and that permanent sums be set apart for its provision.*

As the day fixed for the king's "instruction" approached Du Plessis perceived ample reasons to induce him yet more fully to abandon his first design. He would have presented himself at any *assembly* in which it was proposed to discuss the temporal interests of the church ; but he was too deeply moved to consent to the ridicule of lending himself as a mere spectator of a *conference*, in which it was preconcerted that the king should simulate conversion, that the Romanists should be triumphant, and that the Huguenots should be condemned without a trial.† He remained accordingly at Saumur, when the Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishops of Nantes, of Chartres, of Mons, and of Evreux, the Dean of Notre Dame, and the Curés of St. Eustache, St. Sulpice, and St. Méry repaired to Nantes. Henry in accepting those divines as his teachers, had protested against the admission of the Cardinal of Bourbon as their assessor ; remarking with sportiveness, perhaps with truth, that, albeit he himself had found little time for the pursuit of theological studies, he had no doubt that he could beat his cousin in disputation, notwithstanding he was a cardinal.‡

* Tom. v. p. 450.

† *Ibid.* p. 485.

‡ De Thou, cvil. 7.

On the morning appointed for the conference, before admitting the divines, he found time July 23. to write a few lines to his mistress, Gabrielle D'Estrées, informing her that on the following Sunday he should make "the perilous leap;"* and that at the moment in which he was addressing her, he had a hundred importunate applicants at his heels, who made him hate St. Denis quite as much as she hated Mantes. From six o'clock till eleven in the forenoon,† the king listened most patiently to expositions on the points concerning which he felt the greatest doubt:—The invocation of saints, auricular confession, and the pope's supremacy. On the knotty point of transubstantiation, he expressed himself in terms which, if they are correctly reported, prove either that he was never sincere in the Reformed profession, or that he was entirely ignorant of one of the main differences between the two churches.‡ The Archbishop of Bourges took the lead; and at the close of the meeting, the king courteously thanked the divines for having freed him from much ignorance; and expressed a hope that, by farther meditation and by the grace of God, he might adopt a course salutary both to himself and to his subjects.§ As a first earnest of his conversion, he issued orders to the steward of his household carefully to observe all the fasts of the Romish church, and to abstain from serving flesh at his table on the days in which its use was prohibited.||

* *Ce sera Dimanche que je ferai le saut périlleux; Lettres de Henri IV. Journal de Henri III. tom. iv. p. 434, words which are rendered by Laval, whimsically but not very honestly, "the tumbling trick." Hist. of the Ref. in France, vol. iv. p. 132.*

† Cayet. *Chron. Novenn.* tom. ii. liv. v. p. 221; and the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 388, extend the hours of instruction to one in the afternoon. In mercy to Henry, we have curtailed them on the authority of De Thou, cvii. 7.

‡ "Mais quand se vint à parler de la réalité de Sacrement de l'Autel, il leur dit, 'je n'en suis point en doute, car je l'ay toujours ainsi creu.'" Cayet, *ibid.* p. 223.

§ De Thou, cvii. 7.

|| *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 389

The joy of the metropolis was unbounded when Henry formally announced the day on which he would seek reconciliation with the church in the cathedral of St. Denis. The legate, indeed, circulated a vehement letter, in which he denounced canonical censures against any ecclesiastic who should presume to admit a relapsed and impenitent heretic to communion;* and the Duke of Mayenne threatened rigorous punishment to any inhabitant of Paris who should cross the barriers without permission. Nevertheless, on the evening of the 24th of July, the town of St. Denis was thronged with expectant visitors; and a great majority of the crowd which gazed upon or assisted in the next day's solemnity, consisted of strangers from the capital.

Some hesitation arose, even at the last moment, relative to the confession of faith which the king was to subscribe. The formal act was at first burdened with minute particulars from which the neophyte revolted; and Sully, Du Perron, and the Cardinal of Bourbon were employed in accommodating it to his taste.† This original document has not reached us; but it is plain from the one which Henry really accepted, that he was not *very* fastidious; and we may reasonably believe that the Romish divines, in the outset, proposed terms by which their triumph was to be ostentatiously blazoned. In the existing confession, Henry acknowledges his belief in tradition; in Scripture as interpreted by the holy mother church; in seven sacraments instituted by our Lord; in received ceremonies; in the sacrifice of the mass; in the doctrine taught by councils respecting original sin and justification; in transubstantiation; in the validity of communicating in one kind; in purgatory; in the invocation of saints, and the *honour* and *venera-*

* Printed in the *Lettres d'Ossat*, tom. i. p. 246.

† Sully, tom. ii. liv. v. *ad fin.*

tion due to images; in the divine origin and the power of indulgences; and in the supremacy of the Romish church and of the holy father, the successor of St. Peter, chief of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.* If he were indeed to become a Romanist, less than this recognition could scarcely be demanded; but it may be a just matter of surprise how *more* could ever be expected.

When the memorable day arrived, the king, clothed July 25. in white raiment, accompanied by a numerous train of princes and nobles, and escorted by his Swiss and Scottish guard, presented himself, about eight o'clock, at the chief portal of the cathedral of St. Denis; where the Archbishop of Bourges,* supported by the other prelates and ecclesiastics who had assisted in the instruction, and by the Cardinal of Bourbon, expected his arrival. The body of the church was hung with white drapery, embroidered with the armorial bearings of France and of Navarre. The archbishop, seated and holding a copy of the Gospels in his hand, asked the stranger as he approached who he was and what he required? "I am the king," replied Henry, "and I wish for reception into the bosom of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman church." He was again asked, if he so wished in all sincerity and from the bottom of his heart? and having answered in the affirmative, he kneeled down and pronounced the following declaration: "I protest and vow before Almighty God to live and die in the Catholic and Roman religion, to protect and defend it against every one, at the hazard

* *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 391. Note.

† Cayet has given the reason why the Archbishop of Bourges, who was grand almoner of France, presided on this occasion. "Le Grand Aumosnier de France est peculier Evêque de la Cour et maison du Roy; comme il se peut voir en l'ancienne institution dudit estat et office de Grand Aumosnier de France; et à cette occasion est veritablement Chanoine né de l'Eglise de Paris, et est tenu en Cour faire l'office de Paris. Je tiens que c'est aussi pourquoy sa Majesté voulut faire sa reunion l'Eglise devant son Grand Aumosnier comme estant proprius suus sacerdos." *Chron. Nov.* tom. ii. p. 223. Note.

of my blood and of my life ; renouncing all heresies opposed to it." Then, having tendered to the archbishop the written confession of belief which we have already noticed, attested by his sign-manual, he was raised from his knees and led to the high altar, as soon as the thronging of the eager spectators permitted. There, amid shouts of impatient congratulation, he again fell on his knees, repeated the same oath, received the sign of the cross, and kissed the altar. In a pavilion constructed behind the altar, he confessed, and received absolution from the archbishop, while a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted in the choir. The Bishop of Nantes performed mass, which was interrupted by repeated shouts of *Vive le Roy*, while Henry sat enthroned under a canopy glittering with fleurs-de-lis of gold. At the close of the service, money was scattered among the people ; and the king, returning to his quarters, dined in public, not a little to his inconvenience, from the rude pressure of curiosity.* After the banquet, at the beginning and end of which a Romish grace was chanted, he heard a sermon from the archbishop, and attended vespers ; and then mounted on horseback, to offer a thanksgiving in the church of Montmartre. The festivities of the day concluded with a splendid exhibition of fireworks.

During the progress of the ceremonial at St. Denis, the gates of Paris were closed ; and the pulpits resounded with denunciations addressed by the preachers of the league against the heretics and those false bishops who, it was said, had exalted their horn to overthrow the church : who had made

* " Spreto omni periculo quod a sicariis illi in horas imminebat, eunctos admitti voluit, tanto concursu ruentes, ut parum abfuerit quin coenaculo amplissimo in quo cibum sumebat completo, mensam ad quam sedebant dejecerint." De Thou, cvii. 9. See also for an account of the solemnities on the day of Henry's conversion, *Journal de Henry IV.* tom. i. p. 389, and especially the very ample narrative given by Cayet, *Chron. Novenn.* tom. ii. liv. v. p. 222, &c.

a rent in the coat without a seam, and who were seeking to divide the people by leading them to idolatry at Bethel. Their conferences were declared to be by a truer name conspiracies; their prayers execrations; their blessings curses; their absolution but a repetition of censure; their sacrifices the bread of tears, polluting all who should taste it. On this, as on all similar occasions, Boucher was pre-eminent in virulence; and the nine lengthy sermons on the *Conversion Simulée*, which he preached at St. Méry's, were afterward collected and committed to the press, as enduring testimonies of his hatred against the king.

The resolution thus finally adopted by Henry, in the most important crisis of his life, occasions sorrow rather than surprise. To hesitate in pronouncing his condemnation would be, in some degree, to become partakers of his sin; yet so dazzling are the brighter portions of his character—or, to speak with greater justice, so deservedly in many points does he command both our attachment and our admiration—that, perhaps, no one ever contemplated this his fall, without an ardent and a very pardonable anxiety to diminish its heaviness. Nor is it difficult to find palliations. A firmer sense of the paramount obligations of religious and moral duty, than that which at any season appears to have influenced his conduct, might, through God's grace, have enabled him to subdue the strong worldly temptations by which he was encompassed. But how adverse to the attainment of such a spiritual armour had been the circumstances of his life, and of the evil times upon which he was cast! It has been pleaded in his behalf, that the entanglements of state policy in great measure deprived him of free agency;* and no one can read the apology which he

* D'Aubigné, in a very curious chapter on Henry's conversion, *Hist. Univ.* tom. iii. liv. iii. c. 22, p. 294, has put the following words into the king's mouth. "Je ferai voir à tout le monde que je n'ai esté persuadé par autre Theologie que la necessité d'Etat."

offered to Wilkes, the special ambassador from Elizabeth,* without admitting his difficulties. He had already postponed, during nearly four years, the performance of the promise which he had given at his accession, and both parties manifested distrust on account of this long indecision. The Catholic lords in his service began to oppose the league unsteadily and reluctantly; and many of the Reformed altogether withdrew. Eight hundred gentlemen and nine whole Huguenot regiments had abandoned his camp; and the demands of his Romanist followers increased in proportion as they discovered his weakness. His conversion, he said, at one blow destroyed the *Tiers parti*, frustrated the election of Guise, secured valuable foreign alliances, and conciliated the general affections of his subjects. So discreetly was it arranged also, that by avoiding any display of controversy, he spared the Huguenots the mortification of being dragged into a contest, in which, whatever might be its absolute result, it was necessary that their defeat should be recorded.†

Thus much may, perhaps, be admitted in Henry's favour; but we pause when Sully would advance a few steps further. "I should violate truth," says that acute observer of human nature, than whom no one possessed more intimate knowledge of Henry's disposition, and who, at this season especially, be-

* Camdeni *Annales ad ann.* 1593, p. 609. A very impassioned letter from Elizabeth is there given in Latin (p. 610), which may be found in French also among the Cottonian MSS. (Titus C. vii. 61). It has been printed by Mr. Turner, *Hist. of Engl. Elizabeth*, vol. iv. p. 530, with a slight error (probably of the press) in the reference, which is there given 161. But a peculiarity in the language of the letter appears to have escaped the observation of even that most indefatigable writer, who cites the commencement as follows. "Ah quelles douleurs! oh quelle regrete! oh quel gémissement," &c.; whereas the words, as they really stand, are a *patois*. "Ah quelles douleurs! oh quella regreta! oh quella gémissementa!" But the Cottonian MS. after all is only a copy by an unknown hand, and the original may have been corrupted by a negligent or an ignorant writer.

† Camden, *ut sup.*

lieved that he had sounded all the depths and shallows of his master's heart—"if I were to leave a suspicion that political motives, the menaces of the Catholics, a weariness of trouble, a love of repose, the strong desire of emancipation from the tyranny of foreigners, even the good of his people, laudable as that object may be in itself, were the sole reasons which contributed to promote the king's final decision. So far as I am permitted to judge the secret thoughts of a prince with whom no one was ever so well acquainted as myself, I fully believe that these motives first suggested to him the idea of conversion; and, for my own part, I confess that I did not seek to inspire him with any others; being strongly persuaded, as I always have been (notwithstanding I am a Calvinist), from acknowledgments made by the most intelligent Reformed ministers, that God may be not less honoured in the Catholic, than he is in the Protestant communion. But I think the king brought himself in the end to regard the Catholic church as the more certain of the two. The candour and sincerity which I have always remarked in this prince, induce me to believe that, if it had been otherwise, he would have dissembled but ill during the remainder of his life."*

There were, indeed, obvious vices in the character of Henry, well inclining him to adopt a creed which holds out the privilege of commutation and compromise for lapses from purity; which pays the debts of conscience by observances which mere human authority has stamped with a fictitious value; and which allows the nice adjustment of a balance between pleasure and penance. But it may be reasonably doubted whether he had even thus far reflected upon the points in contest; whether in truth he had ever considered the change as more than a

* Tom. ii. liv. v. p. 178.

form, which, according to an observation of Sully in another place, he had made up his mind should not stop him.* His own declaration, although made in jocular terms, was perhaps not remote from truth, when he pronounced the question what religion he himself really believed, to be one of three things inscrutable by human intelligence.† The convert who unshrinkingly encounters peril, or even disadvantage, by the adoption of new opinions, will obtain a ready acknowledgment of his sincerity; although his act may, perhaps, be imputed to effervescent feeling rather than to sound discretion. But the chances are fearfully against a belief in real conviction, when self-interest and conversion appear linked hand in hand; when the act of renunciation tends to aggrandizement in wealth, power, station, or influence. The current value of motives varies according to our assurance of their freedom from alloy; and they become depreciated in the same proportion in which they become mixed.

The abjuration of Henry will produce some necessary change in the method of our narrative, which henceforward ceases to be identified with the main History of France. While the external fortunes of the Huguenot church were influenced by the same hands which swayed or sought the government of the kingdom, few events in politics were likely to be unconnected with religion; and the annals of the latter half of the XVIth century in France, as indeed in almost every other part of Europe, are annals of the Reformation. But as spiritual weapons became gradually less employed for purposes of secular ambition, the story of the church is to be sought within its own more quiet and con-

* Tom. ii. liv. v. p. 174.

† The two other questions regarded the personal courage of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and the chastity of Queen Elizabeth. Turner, *ut sup.* p. 588. As the saying is related in the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. iii. p. 86, it becomes an assertion that *Le Roy de France est fort bon Catholique*.

tracted pale. The incidents which it hereafter affords may be less calculated to arouse keen excitement, but they may not, on that account, be less favourable to calm reflection. They address themselves to a different, but by no means to an inferior class of feelings ; as they are more equable and uniform, they may be dismissed with proportionably greater rapidity, but to readers who seek acquaintance either with their own hearts, or with those of their fellow-men, they remain undiminished in interest and in importance.

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